

# LUTHERAN WORLD

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THE FORMATIVE FORCES OF LUTHERANISM

REGIN PRENTER

REACTIONS OF A CATHOLIC TO THE STUDY DOCUMENT

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THE WITNESS OF CHRISTIAN FAITH TO ASIA

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*Any machinery, however beautiful to look at and however wonderful a product of brains and skill, can be used for bad purposes as well as good: and this is as true of social machinery as of constructions of steel. I think that, more important than the invention of a new machine, is the creation of a temper of mind in people such that they can learn to use a new machine rightly. More important still at the moment would be the diffusion of knowledge of what is wrong—morally wrong—and of why it is wrong. We are all dissatisfied with the way in which the world is conducted: some believe that it is a misconduct in which we all have some complicity; some believe that if we trust ourselves entirely to politics, sociology or economics we shall only shuffle from one makeshift to another. And here is the perpetual message of the Church: to affirm, to teach and to apply, true theology. We cannot be satisfied to be Christians at our devotions and merely secular reformers all the rest of the week, for there is one question that we need to ask ourselves every day and about whatever business. The Church has perpetually to answer this question: to what purpose were we born? What is the end of Man?*

T. S. Eliot

The Idea of a Christian Society

## The Formative Forces of Lutheranism

"Formative forces" are the productive human attitudes within a certain culture which have contributed and will continue to contribute decisively to its concrete shape.

In this century there have been so many culturally destructive forces at work that we are tempted to be sceptical about, if not to despair of, the future of western European culture. For this reason we cannot but be constantly in search of genuinely formative forces. Do they in fact still exist? Are they capable of asserting themselves?

It may perhaps cause astonishment that *Lutheranism* is mentioned in this connection. The Roman Catholic church puts forth the claim—and in this century with renewed force even!—to be a, indeed *the* culturally formative power *par excellence*. And one may well maintain that Roman Catholic philosophy of culture finds today much more consideration in non-church circles than anything Lutheran thinkers have ever said on the question of culture. This situation is no mere accident.

For it is in the areas that have been Lutheran for centuries that secularization so-called is even farther advanced than in Catholic lands. That means that Lutheranism has, for all intents and purposes, ceased to determine the thought and life of modern man. Forces quite different from inherited Lutheran Christianity have molded the culture of the modern world. Or rather: the modern world and its culture have deeply penetrated the church to bring about a radical change in Christianity as it was known in the past. In this situation no one should be astonished if the Lutheran church does not have very much to say on the subject of culture. On the contrary, perhaps the Lutheran church will understand that it is called to consider seriously the question as to how it can continue in its largely secularized modern form to live in fact at all as a Lutheran church. Is it not presumption then to speak of the "formative forces of Lutheranism"?

It may seem so. But it might also be that the situation regarding the formative forces of Christianity is different. It is quite possible that a form of Christianity which does not attempt to influence culture at all, but rather limits itself exclusively to proclaiming the message committed to it, might have a greater effect as a formative cultural force than a form of Christianity which, because of sheer concentration on a philosophy of culture and formative cultural activity, has lost its biblical character. It is not at all certain that Christianity as a force in the formation of culture has its greatest effect through cultural-philosophical thought or through cultural-political action. When we speak today of the formative forces of Lutheranism we are not thinking, at any



rate, of a special Lutheran cultural program. We are not thinking of a special Lutheran art, Lutheran science, Lutheran politics, etc. This would mean putting the question of the formative forces of Lutheranism from a Roman Catholic point of view. Underlying the way we have put the question is, to some extent, a voluntary affirmation of secularization. It is *good* that the various areas of culture have freed themselves from domination by the church. It is *good* that the state, science, art and many other areas of life and thought are no longer ruled by an ecclesiastical hierarchy. For the sake of the purity of the Gospel too, it is good.

If we may bring up the question of the formative forces of Lutheranism at all, the question may be only this: What does it mean for us who *must* collaborate responsibly in the formation of our culture that we hear the Gospel in the manner in which Luther pointed it out to us anew, that is, as the message of the justification of the sinner by faith alone? Is our free activity in the area of culture, which we know to be secularized, decisively determined by the fact that we are hearers of this message specifically? This is the only meaningful question regarding the formative forces of *Lutheranism*.

Today, however, when one speaks about justification by faith alone without the works of the law, one is hardly understood—not even in a historically Lutheran country and in a Lutheran church. For this reason we shall attempt to put it in other words.

We begin with an assertion: *Every man has his religion*. It may sound strange in a secularized world. The majority have in fact renounced all religion—openly, or in secret! At any rate, so it seems. But is this appearance true? What appears to be the end of all religion could also very well be a mere change of religion. The “new” religion does not call itself religion perhaps only because this term is thought to be compromised by the “old” religion. Perhaps it is called “science”, perhaps “politics”, perhaps “literature”, perhaps “education”. That it is in truth, however, *religion* becomes apparent in the fact that it claims to be not only *a* science, but the *only* science, not only politics of a certain kind, but the *only* political opinion, not only a certain kind of “literature”, but *the* literature as such, not only a certain kind of educational theory, but the *only* educational theory, and in the fact that the future of our world is simply made dependent upon whether the truth of this message of the “new” religion is able to gain the day.

What is religion then if it is able to disguise itself in forms such as these? *Religion is the struggle of man against his mortality*.

Man cannot live without some kind of religion. For man cannot become an animal or a plant. Although animals and plants are also living things, man has a faculty which animals and plants do not have: reason, the possibility of “self-transcendence”, that means, the ability to rise above the limits of his purely biological existence. This possibility of self-transcendence expresses itself primarily in the fact that man is aware of his own mortality. Plants and

animals, too, as living things, are mortal. But they are not aware of their mortality. Because he is conscious of his mortality man seeks then to escape death. He sees that all that he is and does leads him on to meet his fast-approaching end. He sees that he cannot escape destruction. But he is *alive*, and as such is determined in fact not to be just nothing. What should he do then when he discovers the fact that he is going to die? There are only two possibilities: either to accept mortality as a fact or to rebel against it. The first possibility, to accept death, was the one which Jesus Christ chose and in doing so made real that religion which we call *faith*, the self-surrender unto death, in steadfast trust in the heavenly Father who quickens the dead. The other possibility, to rebel against mortality, was the one which all the others chose, because they did not have the faith of Jesus Christ, and in so doing they founded that religion which we call the religion of works, or paganism.

In the attempts to deny death, pagan religion is very ingenious. We cannot deny the fact of bodily death. But we can minimize its significance. We can maintain, for instance, that bodily existence is not "real" life. Real life is the life of the "soul". And the soul is immortal, so that "real" life remains untouched by bodily death. Or we can say that real life is not that of the individual, but the continuance of the species, of society, of the whole. That we as individuals must die does not then have much significance. For we continue to live on in that which we have contributed to the whole.

In this way we have already characterized two principal forms of all pagan religion: on the one hand the introverted, mystical religion that is turned away from the world, and on the other hand cultic religion that is turned outward and is formative for the world.

Without religion man cannot succeed in facing his existence as an intelligent, mortal being. The question concerning that which is "eternal", that which can *not* be destroyed by death, is put to man by the very consciousness of his mortality. And he *must* give an answer. Not always a simply theoretical one. There are many people (today they are no doubt in the majority) who neither raise the question of the eternal nor have a clear answer to this question. But in practice, *everyone* gives an answer to this question. Even superficial indifference in the face of death, purely secular, aimless existence without any religious concern, is a practical answer to the question regarding the eternal, and represents to that extent a religious attitude, degenerate though it may be. For behind the secular attempt to forget or to minimize death there still lurks the secret knowledge that one day it will come nevertheless. Better not to think about it! "Entertainment", which is then meant to fill the empty hours, easily takes on the character of an *ersatz* religion. It is perhaps the most wide-spread religion of this century.

But if one is not contented with this degenerate *ersatz* religion, there are new mystic and cultic forms at hand. Let us mention only two examples: the mysticism of faith in the future and the cult of technology.



Why should I be bothered about the fact that I must die? Despite this fact mankind marches by the power of the tremendous progress of our century toward a glorious future. The future of our race is our salvation. In western Europe this mystic view of the future is today no longer at the height of fashion. In America and in the Soviet Union it is still in full flower.

The tremendous results of modern technology call forth in a similar way a new cult. The myths of primitive cultic forms illustrated the cycle of nature. The myths of the various fertility religions proclaimed the meaning of the rhythmic movement of nature, growth and decay, birth and death, spring and autumn—and thereby also the meaning of human life which is conditioned by nature. Modern man, on the other hand, is no longer, as primitive man was, dependent upon nature, but on the contrary forms his world himself, and must also seek to find the meaning of his own continually increasing productivity. Modern man creates then his own myth, and gives life to it by means of his technology. What are we really striving for with all the wonderful things which we manufacture? Something certainly, but what?—We want to “defend the freedom of man”, it is said. For this reason we must invent all of this, for the freedom of man is always being threatened. That is why we must also invent the atomic bomb, in order to be able to kill the men who no longer allow us our freedom. Others say, “We want to defend the equality and security of men”. For this reason we must arrange everything the way we do. The bombs as well, so that we can kill all those who threaten the equality and security of men. We have to find such a “deeper” meaning in the enormous productivity of our technological world. Why do we do it all—if it does not have a “deeper” meaning? For the meaninglessness of our world reveals in fact our mortality. For whom do we perform our modern miracles? We ourselves shall die after all anyway. But, one will protest, our world, our culture with its values, with its freedom, with its Christianity, with its democracy or socialism, will continue to exist. This is eternity. The continued existence of these eternal *values* is the purpose of our activity and intent.

So technology is in fact a disguised form of cult and “ideology” is its myth.

It may appear now as though we had separated ourselves once and for all from Lutheranism and its message of justification by faith alone. But no, on the contrary, just in this way we have drawn very near to it, for the “religion” which I have just described is in fact the “religion of works”, that is, of human attempts to get free from death. It was just this religion of works, as Luther saw it in both medieval Catholicism and Enthusiasm, which he rejected with his message of justification by faith alone. The religion of works is the temptation of all of us. We cannot avoid living in it to a greater or lesser extent, for it is only *it* which actually gives life to our culture. Our culture is basically nothing other than the attempt to construct an order of things which may create for us a certain “eternal existence” when physical death brings an end to our merely biological existence.

Luther, however, said—and this he heard in the Scriptures from St. Paul—that man is in fact *not* justified by works. This is the first, the polemic side of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Justification means being set free from the sentence of death. That we are not justified by works means in modern language that we cannot snatch our life from the clutches of death by the religion of works. Our religion of works is doomed to failure. One can also express it with the words of Jesus: “He who finds his life will lose it.” (Matt. 10:39.)

This statement is perhaps the strongest criticism of culture that has ever been expressed. It unmasks paganism and its cult completely. Salvation is not *there*. Nor is life *there*. *There*—in all these wonderful human works and achievements—for they are indeed wonderful—*there* lurks only death. They will all pass away just as their creators will.

This statement in criticism of culture is the law, which is always the basis for the proclamation of the Gospel. But the basis is not the Gospel itself. The Gospel is not critical but rather affirmative. Man is justified in the Gospel, he is set free from the sentence of death, not, however, through his works, but only by faith in Jesus Christ.

We have spoken of the religion of faith before. Jesus Christ made it real by accepting death in absolute trust in his Father, who quickens the dead. Faith is the radical No to the religion of works and the Yes to God’s mercy toward those who must die.

Had Jesus Christ been only a man as we are, his faith would have been unique, a unique and exceptional case, which would necessarily force us all the more deeply into our paganism.

The Gospel, however, proclaims that Jesus Christ is not only a man like us but the Son of God, the incarnate Word of the Creator. For this reason he did not live his life and die his death in faith for himself alone, but in our place as our reconciler and redeemer. That means that the Gospel does not *demand* of us the religion of faith. How shall we, who are so deeply entangled in the religion of works, achieve such a faith? Rather, the Gospel *gives* us the religion of faith. It proclaims to us that Jesus Christ is risen from the dead, that he lives eternally and by *his* faith becomes our advocate. That is, we should live in faith, not without him, not in our power and truth, but rather we also are privileged to live in faith with *him*, in *his* power and truth. The religion of faith is for all except Jesus Christ himself the religion of faith in him, and only through him, in his power and truth, in his faith in the God who quickens the dead, is this religion possible.

The aim of the religion of faith, which invalidates for all time the religion of works, is to give us the Gospel of Jesus Christ, who is both God and man, our reconciler and redeemer.

In this faith is justification. In it we too receive life when we come to die.



But this religion of pure faith in the God who quickens the dead seems to be unable to establish a relationship to *culture* at all. How can it become a "formative force"? Is Christian faith not a piety which is radically apart from the world and culture, a piety which surrenders the whole of cultural life to reason which is in itself pagan, a piety for which every culture *must* remain secular, worldly?

Yes—and no! We say, in the first place, Yes to the question we have put above. Culture cannot and should not be made Christian. Only faith is Christian. We are justified only by faith, never by works. For this reason those of us in the Christian faith can never erect a Christian culture, a Christian science, a Christian art, a Christian politics over and against a supposedly non-Christian culture or science or art or politics, or play off a christian state against a non-Christian one. We know that here we must cut a way totally different from that of the Roman Catholic church. We believe, however, that our way is more nearly in accordance with the Christian faith.

But we also say a No to the question put above. It is not true that only a negative relationship between culture and the religion of faith is possible. Faith is neither inimical nor indifferent to culture. For the believer, culture has in fact a new meaning because of the victory over the religion of works. Culture is no longer for him a means by which to flee death, nor a help to gain a meaning in life which would gloss over his mortality. He will no longer have to seek salvation in the works of his culture. Culture, in other words, loses every religious function. This does not by any means imply that it no longer exists or that it has no more significance. On the contrary, it means that culture now for the first time can acquire its real meaning because it has now become earthly and is divested of every false claim to be eternal. In this genuine mortality and temporality, it will now be possible for culture to become for the believer a real blessing, and the believer should neither disclaim this blessing nor underestimate it.

Let us express this positive value of culture for the believer by means of two important concepts which have always been characteristic for the Lutheran understanding of Christianity: the forgiveness of sins, and the earthly calling. These two concepts express the lordship of God within the realm of culture.

Forgiveness of sins means that the sinfulness of culture, in that it has come and continues to come into being in the false religion of works, does not preclude the believer from living in this culture, for faith in God is faith in the reconciler and redeemer Jesus Christ. Even the sin which adheres to his culture does not separate him any longer from God, because it is forgiven. But in living in this culture he is able not only to unmask in it sinful self-love, the fear of death, the despairing attempt to find personal security, but also to discover in this culture the collaboration of God the Creator. For it is not only man who works in culture. In the midst of the pagan religion of man, in the midst of the self-love of the sinner, who in all his cultural creativity is and

will remain a sinner, God himself creates and distributes his good gifts. The forgiveness of sins teaches us to see both sides of culture—not only the dark side of human self-seeking but also the bright side of the Creator's divine grace. Cain the fratricide built the first city, says Augustine in *De civitate dei*. That is true—but the city of Jerusalem, which was also built by the Gentiles, became nevertheless the capital of the Davidic kingdom and as such the type of the heavenly Jerusalem. This duality: Cain's work—and at the same time the image of God's work—is characteristic of all culture.

In faith in the forgiveness of sins we begin to recognize again the whole world—including the so-called secularized world—as God's creation, and to receive it as such out of his hand, instead of fleeing from it in an egotistic search after security, or instead of being willing to love it only after we have "Christianized" it according to our selfish ideas. Faith in the forgiveness of sins teaches us to love the world just as it is—in all its sinfulness and need for redemption, in its worldliness.

The earthly calling means not only that we are able to live in a "sinful" culture, as we have seen from the point of view of faith in the forgiveness of sins, but also that we must. God calls us into this world that there in faith in him and in love to our neighbor we may lose our life in order to receive it anew from his hand in death. In the earthly calling the deeds of love, that is, the deeds through which we are to lose our life in this world in the service of others, are already prepared by God. The believer needs only to look around in his calling to discover all the works which God has already prepared.

In this Gospel the formative forces of Lutheranism are contained. Let us sum up briefly what we have said about them before.

1. Culture is not meant to give us life, nor can it do so. We must therefore clearly recognize the sinfulness and temporality of all culture. No culture is eternal. All cultural values are subject to death and are penetrated through and through by sin.

2. It is precisely in knowing that all culture is temporal and sinful that faith in the forgiveness of sins, the faith which is effective in the earthly calling, will have to see all the possibilities of God in the cultural situation of the moment and to work for their realization without any guarantee that these possibilities will be able to assert themselves against the force of self-love.

In the unity of these two attitudes, of a real unmasking of the sinfulness of culture and of the anticipation in faith of its divine possibilities, the formative forces of Lutheranism are drawn together.

They are not the invention of the man Martin Luther. Lutheranism cannot tolerate any cult of Luther. The formative forces of Lutheranism are contained solely in the true Gospel, to which Luther only wanted to bear witness.

We dare to speak here of formative forces. For can there be stronger formative forces within a culture than the veracity which sees through all false claims and shatters all arrogant presumption, than the trust which summons



up courage to make a start on a small and insignificant-seeming piece of work without any guarantee that it will succeed?

Boundless patience, tenacious endurance, cheerful courage always to make a fresh start, humility to strive for the lesser evil instead of dreaming of ideal situations which can never be attained, these are qualities which certainly play the strongest part in determining the formation of culture. But these qualities are all qualities of the Christian faith. Wherever Lutheranism faithfully proclaims justification by faith alone with such force and truth that as a result living faith is engendered and established, there, but only there, Lutheranism exerts strong formative forces.

*The arts, old and new, the fine arts, the practical arts and the popular arts, are peculiarly carriers of meaning and value in our society as in all societies. The church is learning that it cannot ignore such expressions of the society in which it lives. The encounter of the gospel with the world, wheter in evangelism, religious education, apologetics, or theology, requires a deep appreciation of, and initiation into, the varied symbolic expressions of culture.*

Amos N. Wilder  
Christianity and Crisis  
"The Church's New Concern with the Arts"

## Reactions of a Catholic to the Study Document "Christ Frees and Unites"

The editor of LUTHERAN WORLD has asked me as a Catholic theologian who is involved in the ecumenical debate to express some thoughts on the Study Document of the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation entitled *Christ Frees and Unites*. In one way I gladly consent, because I am concerned about conversations with my brethren of the Lutheran confession; in another way, however, I comply with this request with some hesitation, because the Study Document, in the form in which we have it, has certainly quite another intention than that of opening up conversations with the Catholic church. The questions which are taken up deal in fact primarily with problems existing within Protestantism, and I believe that it is good that such problems within a particular confession be clarified to a certain degree before conversations begin with another church on these problems. I should like therefore at this time simply to put down my personal impressions of the Study Document and attempt to say from what standpoint the questions of the Catholic church are directed toward Lutheranism.

### I

The Assembly Director, Dr. E. Clifford Nelson, has made the following statement regarding the theme under which the Third Assembly will convene: "Recognizing that previous ecumenical conversations on this subject seldom got beyond the concept of the church as held by each ecclesiastical tradition, our Lutheran theologians, looking forward to Minneapolis, 1957, concluded that a new beginning must be sought. Instead of seeking a point of departure in ecclesiology, it was deemed potentially more fruitful to begin with Christology, or the second article of the Creed."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the Study Document reveals a strong christocentric treatment of the theme of the unity of the church. We feel the heartbeat of the Reformation, which points to the center: Christ as Savior, Reconciler, Redeemer and Liberator (paragraph 4). That which is central in the work of Christ, the liberation of the Christian from the powers of destruction through Word and Sacrament, can be heard as the basic theme of the Study Document.

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<sup>1</sup> LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 74.



To all this the Catholic will agree. And he will agree gladly, since for him too the saving work of Christ is the alpha and omega of his faith.

Yet behind such a common statement there is a difference in interpretation if one begins to ask how this liberating and unifying work of Christ is accomplished. I am convinced that the difference in doctrine between Catholics and Lutherans does not begin with ecclesiology, but goes deep into the question of Christ himself. In the Reformation tradition Christ is understood as Savior, Redeemer, Reconciler and Liberator; christology has primarily a soteriological stamp. After such a soteriological view, which is for the most part presented as the exclusive view, the Catholic church puts a question mark. Over against the Lutheran tendency to make an antithesis between Law and Gospel, the Council of Trent in Canon 21 emphasized the fact that Jesus Christ was given to men as the Redeemer in whom they should trust, but that at the same time he was given also as the Law-giver whom they should obey.<sup>2</sup> The word "law-giver" is certainly apt to be misunderstood by a Lutheran. One could perhaps better—and this is what we are concerned about in this whole question—use the phrase "Christ the King". This confession to *Christus regens* as a statement of equal importance beside the confession to *Christus redemptor* has always been missed by the Catholic church in the christology of the Reformation. Even Lutheran theologians, who for example postulate a cosmological christology, have pointed out the one-sidedness of a purely soteriological christology. In this point I think of, for example, W. Künneth, who warns that "dogmatic statements regarding Christ are not exhausted simply by soteriological and hamartiological statements, as appears to be the case according to the judgment of dogmatics to date."<sup>3</sup>

Catholic thought regarding *Christus regens* has found its most relevant formulation in the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI (December 11, 1925), entitled "Quas Primas" (on the kingship of Christ). Allow me to quote from this Encyclical some of the most important theses related to our question.

The reverence due to Christ as King is due to him as man, not only as God. The Encyclical finds this clearly attested in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>4</sup> This lordship of Christ results, so says the Encyclical, from the hypostatic union of Christ's divinity and humanity. But Christ rules over men not only by virtue of his innate right to rule grounded in the hypostatic union, but also by virtue of his acquired right, that is, by virtue of his right as Redeemer.<sup>5</sup> The Encyclical then continues: "The evangelists report not only that Christ gave laws, but they present him practicing his law-giving power. And the divine Master emphasized on different occasions in different

<sup>2</sup> Henrici Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, Freiburg/Br.: Herder Verlag, 1947, para. 831.

<sup>3</sup> Künneth, *Theologie der Auferstehung*, Munich: Claudius Verlag, 1951, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 24:19; Ps. 44:7; Is. 9:6,7; Ps. 71:7,8; Jer. 23:5; Zech. 9:9; Matt. 25:31-40; Luke 1:32,33; John 18:37; Acts 1:5; Heb. 1:2.

<sup>5</sup> I Pet. 1:18,19; I Cor. 6:20.

ways that everyone who observes his commandments shows that he loves him and such a person will abide in his love (cf. John 14:15; 15:10). In regard to *judicial power*, Jesus himself declared in front of the Jews that it has been transmitted to him by the Father. When, for example, they accused him of breaking the sabbath by healing the crippled man, he answered: 'The Father judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son' (John 5:22). Herein is also included the right to reward and punish men during their lifetime, for this may not be separated from the judicial power.—Moreover, Christ's *executive power* must also be acknowledged, for all must obey his power of command, and no one who rebels will be able to escape the punishment which Christ inflicts upon him.—But this lordship is above all of a *spiritual nature* and applies to those things which are spiritual. This is shown very clearly by the passages from Holy Scripture cited above and also by Christ the Lord himself through his way and manner of acting."<sup>6</sup>

In regard to the question of the unity of the church, therefore, Catholic doctrine would require an additional statement: It is not only Christ as Savior, Reconciler and Redeemer who frees and unites, but also *Christus Rex*. Christ as the "firstborn of all creation" (Col. 1:15) is the new Adam and the founder of the new people of God. He is the vine and the believers are the branches (John 15:1-11). He is the head and the believers are the members of the body. "As the sustaining foundation of the new people of God, Christ is, on the one hand, the *life-giving principle*, out of which the people of God grows and by which its ability to live is sustained, and on the other hand the *organizing principle* by which the growth in the church is directed and guided. So his being Lord has a twofold function, to be *sustainer* and *leader* of his people. He is both, by virtue of the *Holy Spirit*, who has been sent to the church and is active in it, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, and who is poured out upon the people of God, both upon the individual members, and in particular upon those chosen for the holy ministry, and who is thus the invisible principle, the soul which pervades the church's life and molds its form."<sup>7</sup>

There is—and that is not brought out in the Study Document—a genuine binding of men through Jesus Christ which has a redemptive effect. The Study Document speaks, it is true, in paragraph 24 of a liberation through being bound; it speaks of the salutary lordship of Jesus Christ. And it is good that this note at least comes through. But the logical consequences of this insight are hardly mentioned. In response to the thesis that "Christ frees us by binding us to himself", we should like to ask the question, How does this being bound look in detail? What are the concrete effects of this "salutary lordship"?

<sup>6</sup> Cattin-Conus-Rohrbasser, *Heilslehre der Kirche. Dokumente von Pius IX bis Pius XII*, Eribourg: Paulus-Verlag, 1953, No. 74-77, p. 63-64.

<sup>7</sup> Eichmann-Mörsdorf, *Kirchenrecht I*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1953, p. 25.



## II

The Study Document says that division within the church is always the result of arbitrary attempts to add something human to Word and Sacrament as the necessary marks of the church (paragraph 9). We know that according to Lutheran doctrine Word and Sacrament in their right use are marks of the church. The Catholic church, together with ancient Christian tradition, mentions unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity as the marks of the true church. Is then, for example, the apostolicity of the church something arbitrary and human in addition to Word and Sacrament? In other words, has *everything* been said about the necessary marks of the church when Word and Sacrament are mentioned? The question goes even deeper. From the understanding of *Christus regens*, that is, of the offices of Christ's ministry, the question is raised regarding the office of the ministry in the church. It is astonishing to us that in the Study Document there is no mention of this *ministerium ecclesiasticum*. After paragraph 40, it is true, a study of Article V of the Augsburg Confession is recommended, but this Article is missing—and in our opinion it is a disastrous omission—in the text. We do not need at this point to repeat the criticism which one of the bishops of the Church of South India, Lesslie Newbigin, has leveled at the Lutheran answer that Christ is present through Word and Sacrament. We would only wish that Newbigin's criticisms<sup>8</sup> might be taken heart in the Lutheran church.

The Study Document has a separate section on the continuity of the church (paragraph 50). "There is genuine tradition and continuity in the Church . . . The Church of Christ has a continuity given by God himself, who . . . preserves it by the power of the Holy Spirit." Must one not ask here too what this continuity consists in? The answer, "Through the means of grace given us by Christ" is correct. But the locus of these means of grace must be more closely defined, as well as the way in which they are mediated. Should not the "gifts" of the ascended Christ for his body have been mentioned, gifts which according to Ephesians 4:11 are "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers"? And why were they given? "For the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12). "Just as the body of Christ, the church, is bodily in those means which build it up and bodily in those members of which it consists, so it is also bodily in those instruments which serve its edification" (Schlier). These "gifts" or instruments are, in other words, according to Ephesians 4:11, *persons*, "who are mentioned in a definite historical and intrinsic succession as bearers and mediators of the *charis*" (Schlier).

In what does this continuity of persons consist? It is understandable that those on the Catholic side will await with particular suspense the discussion on the historic episcopacy and the apostolic succession. What will be said

<sup>8</sup> *The Household of God*, London: Student Christian Movement Press, Ltd., 1953, p. 57.

about the order of the church presented in the pastoral epistles, about the authority to teach, govern and consecrate belonging to the apostles, their disciples and the presbyter-bishops, about the principle of succession and the tendency toward a monarchical structure?

In that which is to be studied in regard to each chapter there is not a single reference to one of the fathers and teachers of the church in the period between the Holy Scriptures and the Reformation. In paragraph 28 it is said that the unity of the church is not something to be achieved by Christians; and in 29 it is said that it should, however, be manifested by us. If one confronts this thesis with the postulate of continuity, the question must necessarily arise as to the way in which the unity of the church came to expression in the fifteen centuries before the Reformation, and as to whether the *preservation* of the unity given by Christ in a very special way is not more important than the "expression" of this unity. Since according to Paul unity is concrete and historical, and this unity is demonstrated in love and obedience, the apostle admonishes the Corinthian schismatics to turn again to the *kerygma* which has been received and to subordinate themselves to the *authority* which Paul claims for the congregation in Corinth.

Would it not be good at this point also to listen to the fathers of the ancient church regarding what they have said about the unity of the church? What does it mean, for example, when Ignatius of Antioch (certainly following the thought of the pastoral epistles) recognizes hierarchically graded offices in the church, and when he admonishes the congregation in Smyrna that "All of you should obey the bishop as Jesus Christ obeyed the Father, and the presbytery as the apostles"?<sup>9</sup> Observe how the *ius divinum* is emphasized here! The unity of the church is understood by Ignatius from inside as a unity in the fellowship of worship and as the unity of a legal entity. Corporately the mystical unity of the church is represented in the *one bishop*. Similar texts can be found in Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian. According to the latter, there is but one church because there is but one office of bishop. The unity of the episcopate testifies to the unity of the church.<sup>10</sup> "The one catholic church is neither split nor divided, but rather inwardly united and firmly cemented together by the bond of bishops who are most closely linked together with one another."<sup>11</sup> From among the innumerable testimonies of the fathers let us quote Cyprian's description of the unity of the church.

"The Lord says to Peter: 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' [Matt. 16:18-19]. [And again

<sup>9</sup> 8:1.

<sup>10</sup> Letter 54:24.

<sup>11</sup> Letter 66:8.



after his resurrection he said to him: 'Feed my sheep' (John 21:16).] He builds the Church upon [that] one man [and lays on him the task of feeding his sheep]. True, after the resurrection he assigned the like power to all the apostles, saying: 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto him; whose soever ye retain, they shall be retained' [John 20:21-23]. Despite that, in order to make unity manifest, he arranged by his own authority that this unity should, from the start, take its beginning from one man. Certainly the rest of the apostles were exactly what Peter was; they were endowed with an equal share of office and power. But there was unity at the beginning before any development, to demonstrate that the Church of Christ is one . . . Can one who does not keep this unity of the Church believe that he keeps the faith? Can one who resists and struggles against the Church be sure that he is in the Church? For the blessed apostle Paul gives the same teaching and declares the same mystery of unity when he says: 'There is one body and one Spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God' [Eph. 4:4-6]."<sup>12</sup>

"It is particularly incumbent upon those of us who preside over the Church as bishops to uphold this unity firmly and to be its champions . . . Let no one deceive the brotherhood with lies or corrupt the true faith with faithless treachery. The episcopate is a single whole, in which the share of each bishop [who reverently respects the unity] gives him a right to, and a responsibility for, the whole. So is the [holy] Church a single whole, though she spreads far and wide into a multitude of churches as her fertility increases. We may compare the sun, many rays but one light, or a tree, many branches but one firmly rooted trunk. When many streams flow from one spring, although the bountiful supply of water welling out has the appearance of plurality, unity is preserved in the source. Pluck a ray from the body of the sun, and its unity allows no division of the light. Break a branch from the tree, and when it is broken off it will not bud. Cut a stream off from its spring, and when it is cut off it dries up. In the same way the Church, bathed in the light of the Lord, spreads her rays throughout the world, yet the light everywhere diffused is one light and the unity of the body is not broken. In the abundance of her plenty she stretches her branches over the whole earth, far and wide she pours her generously flowing streams. Yet there is one head, one source, one mother boundlessly fruitful. Of her womb are we born, by her milk we are nourished, by her breath we are quickened."<sup>13</sup>

"Can you believe that this unity, which originates in the immutability of God and coheres in heavenly mysteries, can be broken in the Church and split

<sup>12</sup> *De catholica ecclesiae unitate*, para. 4. English translation from *Early Latin Theology*, edited by S. L. Greenslade, Vol. V "Library of Christian Classics", Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, and London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1956. Used by permission.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, para. 5.

by the divorce of clashing wills? He who does not keep this unity does not keep . . . the faith of the Father and the Son—nor life and salvation."<sup>14</sup>

When one considers all this, then one will have to place a question mark after the thesis in paragraph 41 of the Study Document that in the Reformation the true apostolic church again emerged in which the Gospel alone is acknowledged as supreme rule and standard. Here also it depends on what one understands by "true apostolic church" and by "the Gospel". What would the fathers say to the thesis in paragraph 47, that the Gospel cannot be captured by any one distinct ecclesiastical form by which it can be guaranteed? Is not the critical teaching authority of the apostle and his successor according to the pastoral epistles a *guarantee* of the *παραθήκη* [that which has been entrusted] against error and erroneous doctrine?<sup>15</sup> Paul lays upon his disciples and successors this task of keeping watch.<sup>16</sup> "Doctrine, Gospel, are not abstract in their action, but rather concrete in the word or pronouncement of authoritative persons. The Gospel has been from the beginning a living doctrine which presupposes a doctrinal judicial office."<sup>17</sup> Thus the thesis in paragraph 51 that the church must acknowledge the creeds and confessions to be in accordance with Scripture also appears ambiguous; for it must be more clearly stated what is understood by "church". Who is the one who concretely decides, the charismatic, the professor of theology, a deliberative theological body, or he who has been sent (I Cor. 3:5 ff.; 4:1 ff.)?

Christ unites and frees also through the fact that he binds. And he passes on to Peter the authority to bind on earth in a way effective for salvation. What a man equipped with the authority of Christ, according to Matt. 16:19, binds or looses on earth counts as bound or loosed in heaven. This binding by the church has always been exercised by means of official doctrinal decisions of a negative character, that is, the use of the anathema. I cannot imagine that these official doctrinal decisions taken from the beginning by the church could be understood by our Lutheran brethren as "arbitrary attempts to add something human" to the Gospel (paragraph 9). Certainly division arises through arbitrary attempts to add something human, but this "something human" must be clearly distinguished. The question raised by Catholics to Lutheran theology therefore is the question regarding the humanity of Christ in its role in the process of salvation.

And furthermore: cannot division also be derived from the fact that the *complete* Word is not heard? The question whether Martin Luther was a "Vollhörer des Wortes", one who heard the full Word of God, is, as is well known, one with which Evangelical theologians are also concerned.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, para. 6. Passages in brackets are taken from the German version of M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, III,1, Munich: Hueber, 1940, p. 131–132.

<sup>15</sup> cf. I Tim. 1:8 ff.; 4:1 ff., 7 ff.; II. Tim. 2:28; Tit. 1:13.

<sup>16</sup> cf. I Tim. 1:3 ff.; 4:6 ff.; 6:20; II Tim. 2:23 ff.; 3:1 ff.; 4:1 ff.; Tit. 1:10 ff.; 2:10 ff.

<sup>17</sup> H. Schlier, "Die Ordnung der Kirche", in Schlier, *Die Zeit der Kirche*, Freiburg/Br.; Herder Verlag, 1956, p. 132.



## III

What is said in the Study Document on justification, on the slavery of man, on God's liberating act in Christ, on freedom in faith and on the first fruit of perfect freedom, can be affirmed by Catholics. The emphasis on the appropriation of the liberating act of Christ accomplished for us (paragraph 19), on the actual righteousness of man before God (paragraph 17) and on the renewal of our life under the power of the love of God which makes all things new (paragraph 18) appears to us to be an advance as over against a forensic and individualistic concept of justification. If the representatives of the Lutheran churches should come to a consensus in this question—and that is, of course, the hope of the Study Document—then this would mean a new basis for discussion with us Catholics. There remains for us in these questions too, however, the fear which we always have when we discover the legitimate concerns of the Reformation, that things may still be uncertain because of that which is *not* said, that is, through the incompleteness of expression, so that they may be interpreted one way or another, according to need. If, for example, we absolutize the thesis in paragraph 21 that we always have freedom *only* in the forgiveness of our sins, then this "only" could give rise to a virtual underestimation of the new creation, "life and salvation", as Luther terms it in the Small Catechism.

## IV

The most problematic section of the Study Document seems to us to be the one "The Freedom of the Church in Ordering its Life". Is the church really free in regard to its external form? When the Study Document in paragraph 44 says that the unity of the church which is based on the Gospel finds its expression in a common confession, it will find the agreement of the Catholic church. It is good that the Lutherans for their part have so clearly rejected ecumenical wishful thinking. In this sense we understand the first sentence of paragraph 34 ("The unity which Christ has given the Church does not require uniformity in a central organization"). One should not rest content with simply a unity of experience or action. And heresies which are dangerous to salvation as well as those which are destructive of the church are openly to be stamped as such and overcome by the Word of God, as the Study Document very rightly says in paragraph 40. The Catholic Church cannot conceive of a unity which is not a unity in truth, that is, in doctrine. Similarly we Catholics can agree when it is said that this unity does not demand any uniformity such as for example a single form of organization or administration or identical liturgical forms, or even uniformity in theological expression or in the ordering of one's life or in devotional practice. Those who know the Catholic church know that there is

no uniformity in it. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is understood entirely as a collegiate order. "It is not as though the primate Peter (or his successors) annulled the responsibilities and authority of the other apostles (or bishops), but rather, when he exercises his function in the spirit of the apostles, he 'ratifies, strengthens and protects' the episcopal responsibilities and authority, to use the words of the Vatican Council. The other apostles are not Peter's delegates, the bishops are not the Pope's delegates, as though only one were shepherd of the flock."<sup>18</sup> Likewise there is in the Catholic church no uniformity of liturgical forms, as is shown by the many different rites.<sup>19</sup> Nor is there uniformity in theological expression, as the various theological schools eloquently testify. The various orders are a clear example of the variety in the ordering of life and in forms of devotional practice.

But in one point the Catholic church cannot agree, and that is a decisive point: it cannot allow that the constitution of the church is an adiaphoron. Has not been the insight of the ecumenical movement that there can be no unity of constitution among the member churches of the World Council of Churches, since the "right-wing" churches are convinced that the question of constitution is part and parcel of faith? And was it not the same insight that was acquired in Barmen in 1934, when the centuries-old error and expedient was abjured which regarded faith and the order of the church as two different matters? It was recognized there that order must be determined by confession and created according to the Holy Scriptures. The church is not free in regard to its external form when it comes to the essential question of constitution. In my opinion, it is not compatible with Scripture to make the decision on constitution dependent on the situation of the moment. Is not the whole period between the Ascension and the return of Christ a single "situation" because the church of Jesus Christ is at all times an *ecclesia crucis seu oppressa* in following its crucified Lord?<sup>20</sup> We Catholics often have the impression that our Protestant brethren underrate what is external, visible and tangible in favor of what is inward, invisible and hidden. Is it not this too which lies behind the first sentence in paragraph 82, that the church must reject every attempt to establish an earthly glory of the church as a temptation of Anti-Christ? What does "earthly glory" mean here? When a Christian hears the word "glory" he thinks of the *doxa* of God which Christ revealed<sup>21</sup> and which he has *given* to those who believe in him.<sup>22</sup> It is precisely this bestowal of glory upon the Christian which is, according to John 17:22, a reason for unity: "The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as

<sup>18</sup> O. Karrer, "Das Petrusamt in ökumenischer Sicht", in Asmussen & Karrer, *Trennung und Einigung im Glauben*, Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1956, p. 64. Cf. also the official joint declaration of the German episcopate in *Irénikon* XXIX/1956, No. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Thus many of our Evangelical brethren do not know that in the Catholic church one finds the liturgical custom of giving Communion in both kinds, that is, in the uniate churches of the east.

<sup>20</sup> Acts 8:1,3; 12:1; 20:29.

<sup>21</sup> John 2:11.

<sup>22</sup> John 17:22. Cf. the aorist form in Rom. 8:30.



we are one." W. Künneth speaks of the "exaltation of the congregation of Christ" which testifies to its "having received the glory of the Resurrection".<sup>23</sup> The Catholic too is aware of the temptation of earthly glory, but he knows how to distinguish between the glory which God gives on this earth and human self-glory which is a temptation of the devil.

## V

Finally let us refer to the first sentence in paragraph 35, where it is stated that the "means of grace" do not operate automatically in the church. After "automatically" comes as an explanation in parenthesis "*ex opere operato*". But here there is actually a false understanding of the *opus operatum*. In canon 8 of the Council of Trent on the sacraments in general it is stated that the sacraments of the new covenant impart grace *ex opere operato*. This "*ex opere operato*" means "by virtue of their being carried out"; that is, grace is imparted through the carrying out of the sign. Catholic doctrine in this appeals to John 3:5; 6:32; Acts 2:38; 8:16—18; Rom. 6; Eph. 5:26; I Cor. 10:16 f.; Tit. 3:5.

## VI

When in conclusion I look again over what I have just said, I realize that actually I have leveled a great deal of criticism at the Study Document. Perhaps in doing so I have asked too much of it. The Study Document itself is of course not meant to be the last word. I may say that I look forward with great anticipation to the deliberations in Minneapolis, and I can assure my Evangelical brethren that there are certainly very many Catholics who will remember in prayer the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, and that we hope that with a possible consensus of the representatives of the churches there will come about in an atmosphere of greater clarity a conversation with the church Catholic.

<sup>23</sup> Künneth, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

J. ROBERT NELSON

## The L.W.F. Assembly and the Unity of the Church

Four questions posed by an 'outsider'

The coming Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Minneapolis has an importance extending far beyond the limits of Lutheranism. It is a great conference of Christian people from many lands, dealing with problems of Christian faith and practice. I am a Methodist, or what some might call simply a 'non-Lutheran'. Yet the delegates attending the Lutheran Assembly are my brethren in Christ, and I am their brother in Christ. Therefore I look upon the Assembly as being first of all a gathering of Christians and secondarily of Lutherans. The conference is a matter in which I am involved, even though I have no part in its preparation and shall not be able to attend it. To fail to sense this involvement would be to ignore the interdependence of members of the Body of Christ. In some measure I will suffer if this Assembly fails, and will be honored if it succeeds, in commending the Gospel and strengthening the church. Could I expect any less concern on the part of my Lutheran brethren for the success or failure of a similar conference of Methodists, Baptists, or Anglicans?

The study document entitled *Christ Frees and Unites* is intended exclusively for Lutherans. There are few pages which are without some emphasis upon a distinctively Lutheran teaching or viewpoint. Yet the basic content of each page is not Lutheranism but the Gospel and the church of Jesus Christ. Questions raised are not Lutheran questions, but Christian questions, even though they are clothed in terms familiar to Lutherans and presumably expect answers in corresponding dress. I see no reason why the document, after a bit of editing, could not be used with full profit by members of any other confessional family. Unity and freedom in Christ are the treasure and concern of all Christians. It is perhaps fitting, then, that one like myself, whose daily work and constant preoccupation center upon the unity of all Christians, should have this chance to ask his Lutheran brethren some questions which arise during the reading of the document, and to dare also to offer a few comments. It is impossible for me to express questions and comments as a representative of the Faith and Order Commission, of course. For one thing, fifteen of the eighty-two members of the Commission are Lutherans. Moreover, no one person can speak for the diversity of convictions and perspectives represented in this body. But at least I can recognize in the study document the kinds of questions which are likely



to arouse many members of the Commission who are not Lutherans. It is these questions only which I shall try now to discuss.

1. *Will the Assembly achieve more agreement on the Lutheran conception of church unity?*

"Christ alone unites", declares the document. Perhaps on no other assertion could one find more agreement among member churches of the World Council of Churches than this testimony to the unifying work of Jesus Christ. There may be individuals who act *as though* church unity depended upon their wisdom and strategy, but none would fail to acknowledge that Christ alone unites. And increasingly in the ecumenical conversation there is being stressed the sole basis of church unity in the whole act of God accomplished through the incarnation, ministry, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. No other foundation can a man lay for the church and its unity. This tenet of Christian faith is no respecter of denominations.

It ought to be sufficient for Christians to express their oneness in Christ and with one another simply on the basis of this common confession. Unfortunately this is not at present possible. There are too many divergent views, held with strong conviction, as to the *manner* in which Christ unites his people and the *means* he uses for mediating his presence and his saving work to them. The common testimony to the redemptive and unitive work of Christ allows all Christians to stand on the same ground. It enables them to recognize at least their obligation to manifest the unity given by Christ. But even while standing on the same ground, they are prevented from clasping hands in full community in Christ because of their contrary teachings. The meaning of biblical authority, Baptism, Lord's Supper, ministry, discipline, and the Gospel itself seems to defy unanimity. With deepest sincerity divided Christians want to conform to the Apostle Paul's desire for the church, that they all be "of the same mind, having the same love, being in full accord and of one mind." (Phil. 2:1f.) But for the present they cannot. Unanimity purchased at the cost of reason and conscience, to say nothing of historical heritage, would be false and hypocritical. It must be a consensus in which all are able and eager to join.

Our experience in the ecumenical movement during the present century should by now have taught us certain basic lessons about divisions over doctrine. First, we must avoid the relativistic notion that these doctrines do not matter, or that the divisions are caused by secondary teachings which are conditioned wholly by historical circumstances. Secondly, we should recognize that there is a higher degree of loyalty to the Word of God in the various denominations than some of us are usually inclined to admit. Thirdly, we should frankly confess that the wholeness of the church's witness and life, its height

and depth and breadth of oneness, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity, are to be found in no single communion or confessional family. Churches which disallow this third point, of course, will hardly be disposed to participate in the ecumenical movement.

It is no secret that the churches which claim the name Lutheran lack unanimity with regard to the conception of church unity. Some of them for example, play leading roles in the councils of the ecumenical movement; some participate slightly but without enthusiasm; some avoid such contacts with the utmost care. For the non-Lutherans who earnestly desire full fellowship with Lutherans, and who try intelligently to understand the Lutheran confessions and viewpoints, it seems that, with regard to Christian unity at least, there are *three* kinds of Lutheranism. All three are in agreement with the dictum of *Augustana* VII, that for true unity "it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments". But within that agreement there are apparent divisions of opinion as to its practical implications for relations with other churches.

A Christian standing outside the Lutheran fold takes no pleasure in the knowledge that there are tensions and divisions within the fold. Lutheran divisions are divisions in the whole church. He knows that there are family quarrels also among Anglicans, Baptists, Reformed, Congregationalists, Orthodox and others. If he takes seriously the teaching of Jesus Christ,—indeed the sacrificial death of our Lord—he will desire with all his heart that the Lutherans too can approximate to that oneness of mind and affection which the Apostle advocated. He will find it easier to understand the Lutherans and converse with them about the unity of Christ if they can achieve a greater measure of unanimity among themselves.

It is my impression that *Christ Frees and Unites* tends both to gloss over the inner divisions of Lutheranism, and to exalt unduly the role of Lutherans in ecumenical discussion. If this is a false impression, or if it gives offense, I am sorry. But it remains even after several careful readings of the study document. Some illustrations are thus in order.

The frequent use of the term "the Lutheran Church" obscures the inner divisions which exist. Is this a comprehensive term for all Lutherans? If so, it strikes one as being rather optimistically applied to a body of Christians wherein there are deep divisions at both pulpit and altar. Sufficient difficulties are presented by our calling divided Christian bodies "the church". Is it not even more questionable that a confessional family which suffers actual divisions should be called "a church"? The study document declares that "full expression of church unity is found in pulpit and altar fellowship". This classic Lutheran formula has much truth in it, although one may be forgiven for remarking that many denominations already have such two-fold fellowship and still remain, for all practical purposes, in a state of division! Then the document says, "This fellowship, constituted by Word and Sacrament, is not



something created by any body of believers, but is received and practiced by them, where such church fellowship is present" (p. 17). Am I wrong when I observe that this sentence is a tautology, i. e. it says in effect that fellowship is found where there is fellowship? And that it again obscures the reality of certain existing divisions? The next paragraph emphasizes three times the necessity and sufficiency of doctrinal agreement for church unity. But it leaves one wondering whether Lutherans themselves can unanimously define the *degree* of doctrinal agreement required for full church fellowship, and whether there is any hope at all of a concord between Lutheran and non-Lutheran churches when agreement among Lutherans seems to be out of reach.

Certain words of the document reveal, perhaps unintentionally, a confidence about the Lutheran claim to truth which is saddening to others. "This constant pointing to Christ is the peculiar task of the Lutheran Church, which holds that Christ unites in the very act of redeeming" (p. 5). Why *peculiar*? Are others unable to point to the redeeming and unifying work of Christ? Is he a Lutheran Christ? I put the question strongly, perhaps unfairly, to show in all candor how one reacts to this sentence. Further, in a paragraph which speaks in a welcome way about the ecumenical obligation of the Lutheran church, we suddenly meet this assertion: "The Lutheran Church is conscious of its obligation to testify as to the true structure of the Church, and as to what it considers the 'true treasure of the Church', the Gospel in Word and Sacrament" (p. 18).

There is a sentence in the Formula of Concord, Article IX, which gives me great comfort when I sometimes feel despair over the difficulties of *consensus doctrinae*. In speaking of the descent of Christ into Hell, the Formula observes: "Now, inasmuch as this article of our faith, as also the foregoing, can be comprehended neither by our senses nor by our reason, but is to be received by faith alone, we have by unanimous consent agreed that this matter should not be disputed about, but should be believed and taught as simply as possible." The "foregoing" article concerns the Person of Christ! And prior to that, in Article VII on the Lord's Supper, one reads, "But these things no one is able with human senses or reason to comprehend . . . For this mystery is revealed in the Word of God alone, and is comprehended by faith alone." Am I being too naive and optimistic to think that agreement with Lutherans on articles of faith which human senses and reason cannot comprehend should be far easier than usually proves to be the case? Or have human senses and reason become in recent generations more capable of comprehending?

2. Will the Assembly think seriously about the meaning of division in the church, and are the Lutheran churches to act upon their consciousness of the gravity of division?

We are not talking about heresy or apostasy now, but about schism between church bodies where the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ is preached and taught

and the two Sacraments are administered according to our Lord's example in instituting them. Conversely, we are not talking about "unionism", or the "pretence of union which does not exist", as the *Minneapolis Theses* of 1930 rightly call it.

Lutherans in Scandinavian countries may be understood if they are not really disturbed by the divisions of the churches, for these divisions are seldom experienced personally. In Germany, India and the United States the situation is much different. Here the divided churches live side by side, and the Lutheran family is one among several. But is it right even to speak of different "families" of Christians? Is the household of God an apartment house? Are we not all *one* family of God in Christ?

How are we to regard the divisions within this one family? The study document before us declares, "Division within the Church is always the result of arbitrary attempts to add something human to Word and Sacrament as the necessary marks of the Church" (p. 6). This statement should not provoke any opposition. But it does make it seem very easy for any confessional group to exonerate itself from responsibility for division. Yes, *they* did try to add human elements, we can all say! The paragraph continues to attribute division and loss of freedom to "the setting up of arbitrary and human traditions alongside the Gospel". Agreed! Now let us ask, who has done this in history and who does it today? Is it I, Lord? Is it I?

I miss in the document a sufficiently sober and realistic discussion of the problem of schism. And I am convinced that theological propositions about unity in Christ, however valid, will not drive Christians to seek this unity unless they have an equally valid sense of the wickedness of division. A footnote on p. 13 asserts, "The liberating act of God unites us to Christ and to one another. It is of the nature of sin to be both bondage and isolation." The isolation of Christians from their rightful brothers in Christ: is that of the nature of sin? Should we be so circumspect and timid, then, in calling schism—not heresy or apostasy, but division—in the church a bitter fruit of sin?

The Faith and Order Section of the Evanston Assembly, 1954, had much to say in its report about the sinfulness of division, and because of this it received severe criticism from certain Anglicans and Lutherans. The former represented the "Catholic" view that the church cannot sin and that schisms among Christians are not within the church. The Lutherans seemed concerned lest the Reformation be branded sinful and unity be made a higher virtue than the truth of the Gospel. It amused me a bit to think that some of the chief drafters of this anonymous report were Anglicans and Lutherans. But it was less amusing to realize that the perception of the demonic evil of division in the church was not communicated persuasively enough. It will be a matter of eager expectation to know whether the L.W.F. Assembly will take up this basic question.



3. Also awaited will be evidence that the Lutheran churches will act further upon the logic of their confession concerning church unity, not only among themselves but with churches of other denominations.

The study document's excellent chapter on "The Unity of the Church in Christ" begins with the assertion that, by the redeeming work of Jesus Christ, "we are brought together into true fellowship and communion with all who in faith have apprehended his liberation" (p. 13). *With all?* "All" is rather a comprehensive word. And the statement is true to the Bible and solid theology when it says that fellowship and communion, that is, full unity, are the gift of God to *all* who receive Christ in faith. Luther's frequently used expression, "*die ganze Christenheit auf Erden*", is a healthy reminder of the peril of delimiting exclusively the number of those who receive the benefits of Christ's work and abide in him in the church.

The urgency of acting upon this wide recognition is fittingly expressed on page 15 of the study document. There it is rightly stressed that the unity of the church is both a "hidden reality" and in need of being "manifested". Too many Christians of all denominations are content to call this unity a hidden reality and let it remain so. But divisions as we know them today do not testify to the hiddenness of the church's unity in Christ; they simply obscure what unity we can know and hinder the manifestation of it in the worship and witness of Christian communities. With deepest appreciation we can approve of the sentence in this paragraph which summons the churches to the practical task, not of creating unity, but of giving it its proper visible expression. Moreover, the section on "The Ongoing Reformation" is a most heartening one, as it concludes with the words: "We can never cease to attempt genuinely to overcome the barriers that separate the churches of Christ" (p. 23).

4. Will discussions at Minneapolis lead to any development in the theology of the sacraments which may permit wider agreement than now exists between the various confessions?

Insofar as we are responsible members of Christ's Body, we must do our part to mitigate divisions at the Table where his Body and Blood are given to the faithful. With particular reference to this scandal of *Abendmahlsstreit* we could all adopt as our own the words found in the Preface to the *Augustana*: "... in no manner do we evade anything which can tend to promote Christian concord."

There are two related statements in *Christ Frees and Unites* which speak of our unity and division in the Supper. With the first I am in complete agreement: "It is the *Lord's* Supper, and the fellowship of brethren is a result of the unity and fellowship with him" (p. 18). Never too frequently in ecumenical

associations can we remind ourselves who the host of the Supper is. Never too carefully can we consider whom we have the right, in the host's sight, to exclude from the Supper.

When this paragraph moves on to say that, for the fellowship of Christians around the Lord's Table "agreement in confession must be wrought out", I find less inclination to approve. Not that I disregard the essential need for community in faith and in obedience to the Word of God on this point. I feel very strongly that some churches have strayed afield in this respect and have not exercised sufficient discipline over admission to Holy Communion. But in the context of this Lutheran document, I fear, the precondition of agreement in confession may mean a more complete and propositional accord than I believe the Lord himself requires. Again we raise the question of the *degree* of consensus which is necessary for unity. And with respect to the actual practices of Lutheran churches around the world, one can see no dominating rule or pattern. Recent agreements on limited intercommunion between the Churches of Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway on the one hand, and both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland on the other, are not to be regarded as typical of all Lutheranism. Neither are they contrary to Lutheranism, I judge. The very recently formalized consensus between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches in the Netherlands is another case in point. Perhaps these bear witness to the important implications of what Professor Schlink wrote about *Augustana* VII: "the emphasis is not upon the knowledge (*Wissen*) about the Sacrament, but upon the actual administering (*Darreichung*) of the Sacrament" (*Theologie der luth. Bekenntnisschriften*, 2. Auflage, p. 271).

The pitfalls on the road to complete agreement on knowledge about the Sacrament may be illustrated by an incident in the conversation between the theological commissions of the Church of South India and the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India. Considerable interest has been evoked by these conversations, and I do not think it imprudent to relate what happened as I recall it. The C.S.I. group had presented a paper on the meaning of the Lord's Supper in which there occurred an approving reference to the reception and eating of the Body of Christ "after an heavenly and spiritual manner". A Lutheran member seized upon this phrase from the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles as a typical evasion of the reality of the presence of Christ. Whereupon a C.S.I. member pointed out that the Formula of Concord, Article VII, used almost the identical phrase, "after a spiritual and heavenly manner". To avoid confusion on the admittedly ambiguous word, "spiritual", the C.S.I. draft of a possible agreement stated specifically that this referred to the working of the Holy Spirit. The Lutheran then balked at this and said he would prefer to keep "spiritual"!

The sacrament of Baptism is also one on which much attention is now centered by participants in the work of the Faith and Order Commission. It is



hoped that the Minneapolis Assembly will likewise discuss the relevance of the one Baptism for the one church. Surprisingly little is said in the study document about Baptism. The chief point made is that common participation in the Lord's Supper is *not* a consequence to be drawn from mutual recognition by divided churches of the Baptism practiced in each (p. 17). But this negative judgment (which is one of the few for which no scriptural references are given!) does not suffice as a discussion of the full implications of the one Baptism. The question should not be pre-judged, but examined carefully and critically in the light of the New Testament, systematic theology, and the present relations of the churches.

These four questions are not the only ones which come to mind with the reading of the study document. The whole range of problems dealt with in Faith and Order studies are likewise the problems of Lutherans. And in this context we have barely mentioned the other emphasis of the theme, the liberty which has been wrought for us by Jesus Christ. But these four are enough for the present.

Last year in the same city of Minneapolis I attended a service in a Lutheran church which is not allied with the World Council of Churches. After the benediction I met the pastor and introduced myself. When he learned my denomination and my work, he exclaimed, "What are *you* doing here?" My reply may have sounded pious but it was true. "Worshipping God", I said, "what are you doing?" Perhaps the whole movement of which the L.W.F. is a part is simply described as the effort of Christians, under God's direction, to come to the time when no pastor need ask such a question of a brother in Christ.

STEPHEN NEILL

## The Witness of Christian Faith to Asia and Africa Today

Our subject is not the legitimacy or usefulness of Christian missions in the non-Christian world. From the standpoint of modern secularism or indifference to religious issues, missions can of course be nothing but a supreme absurdity. Naturally I am myself of the opinion that a valid defense of missions can be made, but this can be offered only in strictly theological terms.

Equally we are not concerned with offering a defense of Christian missions on the grounds of their social or charitable usefulness. That can also be done. Missions, with the very small resources provided for them by the Western churches, have carried out an amazing program of educational and social work. In the part of India that I know best, the church was first in the field in the education of women and girls, in the provision of hospitals for women and children, in the education of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and in developing refuges for lepers and clinics for those suffering from tuberculosis. It is gratifying that governments are at long last entering these fields, with far greater resources, and in some cases setting the missions free from these secondary tasks to attend to their own more immediate business. Under this aspect missions have received the highest praise from national leaders in the newly independent nations. It has in certain cases been stipulated, as by Mr. Gandhi, that there must be no proselytism, no attempt to convert people—the service must be rendered only in a purely humanitarian spirit, in fact that the missions may exist provided that they are not missionary!

But this defensive approach is not my subject in this article. I shall discuss the question whether the West, and particularly Europe, from the experiences and discoveries made in its own long history, has anything significant and of value to offer to the (politically) younger nations of Asia and Africa for their serious consideration as they face the new and gigantic problems of independence in the modern world.

It is a commonplace that we live in a world which is perilously one. It is equally a commonplace among Christians that we are members of what for the first time is a world-wide church. This new situation carries with it new responsibilities and opportunities. Let it be said at once that the full equality of nations has been recognized in the United Nations, and the spiritual equality of older and younger churches has been fully recognized in the World Council of Churches. There is no question of the West's posing as the superior and impeccable older partner, who from the elevation of great wisdom can condescendingly impart wisdom to the younger and less mature. It is, however,



just a fact that Europe has had a long and diversified history, different from that of all other parts of the world, and marked by an astonishing fruitfulness in political experiment, this in its turn stemming from a vigor and versatility of thought that has never quite died away in the course of the last 2,500 years. There is further the undeniable fact that we all, whether we like it or not, whether we call ourselves Christians or not, live in the Christian tradition. That is what has formed our background and the cast of our minds, even if we are rebels against it. Even Marxism, from certain points of view, is best considered as a post-Christian heresy.

Are there, then, any points at which, in cooperation with our colleagues in the younger churches, we can draw the attention of the newly independent nations to experiences which we regard as highly significant in our own experience, and would recommend to their careful consideration as having an intimate bearing on the development of their new and in so many ways problematical existence? It seems to me that there are such points, and, out of the many that may be considered, I have selected four as particularly relevant to this theme.

### **The Question of Tolerance**

There appears to be a danger of a new religious and political totalitarianism in all the new nations in Asia. This is extremely natural, since these nations in the past lived under the influence of great religious systems, and the revival of those religious systems has been part of the political and national renewal of this century. In a sense, perhaps, this linking of national feeling, religious conformity and political reliability is a renewal of the old monism of primitive society, in which the sacred and the profane were not yet distinguished from one another, and in which the king was at the same time ruler, law-giver, judge and priest. It may be questioned whether such a synthesis is viable in the modern world, and some of its manifestations are calculated to cause anxiety to the friends of these countries.

In Ceylon, for instance, it is being openly claimed that what is Buddhist is truly Ceylonese, and what is Ceylonese must necessarily be Buddhist—a doctrine not likely to be received with enthusiasm by the non-Buddhist quarter of the population of Ceylon. It is clear that, in the recent elections, the party now in power was victorious largely through the assistance of the Buddhist priesthood, which had judged the outgoing party insufficiently vigorous in pressing what it believed to be the national cause. A curious reaction has come to light in the last few months. The new prime minister seems to have had a scheme for the better organization of the Buddhist clergy; now one of the leading priests has turned on the prime minister with the suggestion that the government has quite enough to do in getting on with its political and

international tasks, and had better not waste its time interfering in the internal affairs of the church.

India claims to be the land of universal tolerance. It is officially a secular democratic republic, and this is explained to mean not that it regards religion as unimportant, but that it makes no claim on its own behalf to determine the religious views of its subjects. Through the efforts of the small minority of Indian Christians, religious liberty has been written into the Indian constitution in terms resembling those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights submitted to the United Nations. This is admirable. But it must be remembered that this is only one side of the medal. India too has its parties which believe that Hindustan ought to be exclusively the land of the Hindus. There are two such parties, one comparatively moderate, devoted to the maintenance of strict Hindu orthodoxy, the other much more violent in its denial of the principle of equality for the followers of all other religions. In 1956 the leader of this latter party declared himself in no uncertain terms in favor of granting to non-Hindus the barest rights of existence in India, without any hope of enjoying equality of rights and privileges. These parties are still small, but they may grow. It must not be forgotten that the murderer of Mr. Gandhi was a member of one of these parties. The world rightly recoiled in horror from this monstrous crime. But those who knew India had been surprised only that Mr. Gandhi lived so long; many of his views and measures were uncongenial to the strictly orthodox Hindus, and fanaticism of the kind that caused his death is much more characteristic of India than the non-violence that Mr. Gandhi strove to propagate.

Pakistan is frankly an Islamic republic. Its basic principles include a declaration in favor of liberty, democracy and so forth, but at the same time assure the Moslems of the right to order their life in every respect according to the principles of the Koran. It is clear that the statesmen who drew up this declaration derived the first part of it from their Western liberal education, and the second from their loyalty as Moslems. No indication has yet been given as to how these contradictory statements are to be reconciled. For no Islamic state has ever yet accepted the principle of equal rights for all men, and just in so far as it is Islamic it cannot do so. Until now, non-Islamic citizens of Pakistan have not had very much to complain of; but there too the influence of the fanatically Moslem parties may come in course of time to prevail, and then genuine religious equality will be impossible.

It would be foolish to maintain that the West is blameless in this matter. We have only very slowly learned the meaning of tolerance, and we have only very grudgingly admitted it as a principle of political order. The churches that issued from the Reformation were not tolerant. It was only in 1707 that the Lutherans obtained the right to have their own church and worship in Geneva, and that was the result of political relations with the king of Prussia, and not of any enlightened policy of toleration. In Britain it was not till 1829 that the



Roman Catholics were emancipated, and half a century later that the vestiges of inequality between Anglicans and Nonconformists were done away. Recent events in Spain and Colombia suggest that the Roman Catholic countries have still quite a long way to go before they catch up with the non-Roman countries. But at least we have learned something. We have come to see that a faith extorted by any kind of pressure is never a real faith; that the dignity of man as man demands for him the fullest liberty to make for himself those existential decisions (subject to the necessity for preserving public order) on which the direction and character of his life depend; and that the state has no business to concern itself with what necessarily lies outside its sphere. If a pragmatic argument is needed, we may point to the full liberty accorded in our countries to missionaries representing the Eastern religions. Moslems have built mosques in many Western cities. It is reckoned that there are now more than a hundred Buddhist missionaries active in the United States, and there is a vigorous Buddhist society in London. If we venture to recommend complete religious freedom and equality to these new nations, we can do so on the basis of some experience. If we venture to ask for an open door for Christian missions in their lands, we can appeal to a principle of reciprocity by which our request can be supported.

### The Nature of Democracy

The West could also have something to say to the East as to the nature of democracy. All these new nations are committed in principle to the democratic form of government. As a British citizen I can only regret that it is for the most part the British system of democracy that they have elected to follow. I have long been convinced that if in the 1940's Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru had been willing to listen to advice, and to work out a more federal form of government for India, with a great deal of local autonomy, it would have been possible to avoid the division of the country into India and Pakistan. Similarly, I have long held that the last Dutch Lieutenant-Governor of Indonesia, Dr. van Mook, was right in trying to work out a federal system for that gigantic island republic, and that the junta in Djakarta made a fatal mistake when they destroyed his work and insisted on a closely unitary system. (It was interesting to read recently in the *Times* of London a statement by the President of Indonesia corresponding very closely to what I have just written.) But, for good or ill, that is the line that these countries have adopted; and, since the West has had a good deal of experience of different forms of democracy, it may be that here too we have something to say to which it may be worth their while to listen.

We must not, of course, make the superficial mistake of identifying Christianity with democracy. The church has successfully coexisted with many other regimes, and will no doubt continue to do so. But we have a right to ask

whether any other form of government answers so well to those insights as to the purpose of God for his creatures which we learn from Holy Scripture. As a young man, I shared the view of Alcibiades the Athenian that democracy is acknowledged folly. It was only gradually, and only on purely Christian grounds, that I came to change my view, and to hold that, although democracy is by far the most difficult form of government to make work satisfactorily, it alone offers to man a life worthy of him as a child of God and as a responsible and intelligent being.

It is to be noted that not one of the new nations has any tradition, other than at the purely local level, on which a democracy can be built. Most of them lived, until the period of Western colonialism, under despotic and paternalistic regimes. In India the caste system has written inequality profoundly into the social structure of the nation. Islam has, as we have seen, insisted on a dual standard for Moslems and non-Moslems respectively. It is not easy to see on what foundations a stable democratic system can be erected.

Conversely, it is interesting to note that, though the text-books take us back to the slave-owning democracies of the Greeks, in reality the origins of what we now recognize as democracy are purely Christian. In modern times, it can be traced back to those small assemblies of the English Independents in the seventeenth century, in which a genuine spiritual equality prevailed; in which it was taken for granted that simple people, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, were competent to decide on matters of grave spiritual import, and that at any moment the decisive word might be given to any member of the assembly, be he tinker, tailor or what not, rather than to the learned or to the eminent in the world's eye. I have never read any thorough study of the relationship between the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the development of the democratic idea; I am sure that the connection is close, though I cannot prove it.

Now we cannot expect our friends in India and Ghana to accept our theological presuppositions. But we can respectfully present to them certain deductions from those presuppositions, as basically necessary, if democracy is to have any chance at all of working. Perhaps our first point would be that democracy cannot rest on any general idea of human equality (this always breaks down in practice), but only on that equality which springs from the fact that each man severally is the creation of God, and equally the object of his care. Secondly, we would wish to affirm that man cannot rise to the height of genuinely human existence unless he is called to a measure of responsibility for the society in which he lives. From this follows thirdly the view that every man (unless mentally deficient) has latent capacity to learn the art of responsibility, and is capable of exercising a responsible judgment on great affairs, if these are reduced to such simple terms that expert knowledge is not a necessary preliminary to the exercise of judgment upon them. Fourthly we should affirm that no man may ever be the tool or instrument of another's interests (though he may of course sacrifice himself for the sake of the welfare of others); each



must be regarded as an end in himself. From this it follows, fifthly, that the most sacred duty of a democratic government is the maintenance of the rights and liberties of minorities.

You will note that all these five points are directly related to a certain estimate of the value of man as man. This is something that we have learned to apply in practice only in recent years, and still very imperfectly, though it is plainly written for us in the Scriptures. We cannot hold ourselves up as impeccable models; but we can indicate a wide field of common interest and study, particularly by way of contrast to the very different estimate of the significance of the individual that seems to follow from the Marxist doctrine as to the nature of man.

### **The Threat to Personal Existence in Modern Mass Society**

All the newly independent nations are committed to the ideal of the welfare state. They are indeed finding it a great deal more difficult to put their theories into practice than they had expected. It looks as though the welfare state has to be a product of welfare rather than a means to it. A poor nation cannot pass in a generation from its traditional poverty to universal prosperity. There are many setbacks in the way, many disappointments, and the path of progress can only be very gradual. We can only note with satisfaction that the richer powers are taking seriously their responsibility to help, and that wise co-operative planning, such as that for which the Colombo Plan stands, is gradually having an appreciable effect on the poverty of the lands in question. Our immediate point, however, is different. The implementation of plans for rapid social and economic advance calls for a great deal of government and bureaucratic control. This is not in itself necessarily a bad thing; but it does represent a great danger in countries where democracy is a new plant, and individual initiative has in the past been rather at a discount. The danger is that men and women may come to be the playthings of gigantic forces which they can neither identify nor control, and that good may be done to them at the price of robbing them of their independence and of their right to a say in determining the conditions under which they live.

This is a familiar problem to us in the West today. At the moment in Britain we are faced by the possibility of a widespread strike of the doctors against the National Health Service, under which most of them are now employed. The immediate cause is differences of opinion with the government over their rates of remuneration; the underlying cause is different and far more significant. I suppose that no one, in principle, would regard a national health service as other than a very good thing; the complaint of the doctors, as I have had it very loudly voiced to me in recent months, is that the personal element in their vocation has been completely disregarded and destroyed. The minister

who put through the plan was unaware, or perhaps deliberately refused to recognize, that there is a difference between the apothecary who sells me a bottle of medicine over the counter (an admirable and praiseworthy public service), and the doctor who enters my home and in course of time comes to be a trusted friend of the whole family. This elimination of the personal under the weight of the administrative is in the end disastrous to the life of men.

We in the West are aware of the dangers that we ourselves have created, and are fighting, not very successfully, against them. If all this is dangerous to us, far more is it dangerous to these other peoples, who have so much less power of resistance than we to these new and unfamiliar forces that have been let loose on their ancient and not readily adaptable societies. There is a real danger, particularly in Africa, that they may pass directly from the old primitive collectivism to the new beehive collectivism of the mass society of the atomic age, without passing through the intervening stage of personal and individual liberty.

In that old collectivity there was much that was beautiful and of value. Every man knew his exact place in the community, and the responsibilities that he was expected to fulfill. He could count on the support of the community, sometimes to the confusion of the police, if they happened to be indelicately interested in his affairs. Such an important affair as marriage was regarded much more as the affair of the community than as the personal choice of the two individuals most intimately concerned. It still happens that a young Christian in India who has taken a university degree will come to the church to meet his bride for the first time at the wedding service, all the details having been settled by the senior members of the two families. This corporate responsibility of all for each has produced societies of astonishing stability and persistence. We may feel that this stability has been purchased at too high a price, in the suppression of individual initiative and of the development of individual personality. That is perhaps only a Western point of view. But, however that may be, it is certain that under modern pressures these old societies are very rapidly changing their character; no issue in the world is more burning than the question as to the nature of the societies that will take the place of the ancient societies now in process of liquidation.

The danger is that of the planned and orderly beehive society, in which directives are issued from above, welfare is promoted, but the individual's area of choice is strictly limited, and in which he has no longer any share in the decisions which determine the nature of the society in which he is to live. In such a society genuinely personal life is no longer possible.

The churches, when they know their business, stand like a rock for the sanctity of personal existence. It is interesting that the most glowing testimony to the importance of the church in Asia and Africa in this respect comes from the pen of an Indian Christian, Mr. M. M. Thomas. This testimony is specially valuable in that Mr. Thomas cannot be suspected of any undue partiality for



missionaries and for the West. He was for a number of years a Communist; and though he is no longer a Communist I suspect that his political views are still some way to the left of mine. In one of the preparatory volumes for Amsterdam 1948, Mr. Thomas wrote that the small Christian communities brought into existence by the missionaries were the sole reality of genuinely personal living in Asia; and that, if the missionaries and the churches continued to proclaim the all-importance of such personal living, that would be the greatest service that they could render in these days of rapid development in Asia and Africa. This is very striking testimony. But is it not confirmed in our own experience? When does an individual grow into a person? Kierkegaard maintained that this was possible only through the confrontation of man by the living God. It is only when man, in the nakedness of his reality, stands before God that he is able to rise to that other reality for which he has been created as a child of God, and to grow to the stature of personal being.

### The Question of Morality

It may be permissible also for the West to speak a word to the East on the subject of morality. It is not that we claim to be better than other people; indeed, on the principle that judgment is to begin at the house of God, perhaps we have more reason to fear and to be ashamed than any other folk. Yet it is the fact that we have been granted certain insights that we have no business to keep to ourselves.

I imagine that no one who has been engaged in the study of religions doubts the uniqueness of what happened in the experience of Israel, and specially through the witness of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. For the first time, and irrevocably, the connection was made between religion and morals. The nearest parallel to the Old Testament appears to be the austere religion of Zarathustra, but even that falls short of the simplicity and absoluteness of the biblical revelation. What Amos and Hosea and Isaiah maintained was simply that God is interested in ordinary goodness, and that a man who wishes to enter into fellowship with him must concern himself seriously about such things as just weights and the rights of the poor and the cry of the widow. Perhaps only those who have lived in lands where that identification has not yet been made can realize how revolutionary it was. This is not to say that the other great nations of the world have no ethical principles. They have; but it is not always evident how these principles are related to their metaphysics or their religion. Ethics tends to take the form of caste or social duties rather than of a recognized relationship of obedience and loyalty to a good God. Religion can easily descend to the level of an inner and mystical experience of communion with the unseen, which does not necessarily concern itself very much with ordinary questions of right and wrong.

Let me repeat again that we have nothing to boast of. It is possible for our friends of the East to pick up from our daily papers reports of innumerable scandals in private and in public life. Yet there is a difference. We have the slightly Socratic advantage that, if we are sinners, we know that we are sinners; and that is very important.

We are not now dealing with the question of individual and personal salvation, but with the relevance of a Christian witness to *national* and *public* life. There is a good deal to suggest that, at the present stage of development in Asia and Africa, a clear witness concerning the relevance of moral standards may not be out of place.

There is a widespread consensus that, since independence, there has been a grave lowering of moral standards in public life in the newer nations. This is not an ill-natured criticism from the West. A commission appointed by the government of India reported in the most serious terms on the spread of corruption, and the government declared itself ready to take drastic action to clear up the mess. It has also been reported that progress in the great schemes—dams, hydro-electric developments, etc.—so indispensable as part of the plans for raising the general economic level of the country, is being slowed down by the difficulty of finding competent and honest administrators on the lower levels of personnel. From Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast, and just become independent within the British Commonwealth, comes a distressing story of corruption in the working of the Cocoa Purchasing Company. Ghana, with its gold, with the prospect of one of the greatest aluminium mines in the world in its Volta territory, and above all with its cocoa, is a wealthy country. In itself nothing could have been more admirable than the plan to set up a company to arrange reasonable financial help for the cocoa-growers. That such a plan should be set on foot by the government is only one more instance of that state planning which we have recognized to be almost inevitable in this stage of the development of the underdeveloped countries. But the report of an official inquiry makes it only too plain that the administration of the company has been something less than impartial. It has proved almost impossible for any farmer to get a loan from the company without first becoming a supporter of the political party of the prime minister, Dr. Nkrumah; there is evidence of other kinds of political pressure being applied through the company to strengthen the government and to confound its enemies.

It has rightly been stressed that a party as such should have no general "Weltanschauung". Parties exist to deal with actual living situations; without risking the charge of inconsistency they may vary their principles and the application of their principles. But is it not the case that every individual, political and otherwise, *has* a general "Weltanschauung"? It may well be that this view is more than half-unconscious, inarticulate and confused. But for all that, it is there, and no small part of political as of religious education lies in helping a man to understand the principles by which he himself is governed



and on which he relies. There are certain fields of political action in which anything beyond immediate political strategy enters to so small an extent that they may be regarded as morally neutral. There are many other questions as to which those who agree on basic principles may reach divergent conclusions. But is it not evident that, in every major political judgment, an ethical judgment is implicit? And can ethics hang in the air? Must they not ultimately find a metaphysical justification? From the Christian point of view, can ethics exist out of relation to God? And is it therefore unreasonable to think that the Christian understanding of God and of man has a relevance at every point to the political struggles and responsibilities of men?

The extent to which we can commend to those who are non-Christians insights that are ultimately derived from Christian convictions must remain uncertain. Few perhaps would doubt our right to commend them, humbly, sincerely and respectfully, to those of other convictions and other traditions than our own. Whether they will listen and be willing to learn is their concern and not ours. We have no claim to be the repositories of all the wisdom in the world. We may and should recognize that we may have much to learn from the other great civilizations. But it is just a fact that their history has been different from ours; they have so far followed one line and we another; it is only in the last few hundred years that these divergent lines have come together. We have our own history—a tormented, troubled history, yet one that has been creative in science and literature and in philosophy, all of which things have been represented in the diversity of our political institutions. We cannot say that this is the only way of doing things. But we can suggest to our friends elsewhere that we believe ourselves to have learned certain lessons of permanent and universal relevance. I think we shall find that they fall under the rubric of our new understanding of the nature and value of man.

If we attempt to sum up these lessons, perhaps we can arrange them under four heads. *First*, civilized life is impossible without respect for the individuality and liberty of every man. *Secondly*, we maintain that the integrity of every man's being must be maintained, and this demands that he should have liberty to think, to speak and to act as he wills, provided that he observes towards others the respect that we require that they should observe towards him. *Thirdly*, we affirm our belief in the capacity of the ordinary man, his capacity to understand those things that most immediately concern him, and, given favorable conditions, to make an intelligent and responsible decision about them. *Fourthly*, we affirm that the factors of right and wrong cannot be eliminated from human affairs, and that therefore every man stands always under the judgment of his own conscience, and under the judgment of the enlightened conscience of his fellow men.

If we are asked where, basically, we have learned these lessons, the answer surely must be that we have learned them from Jesus Christ, the man in whom the nature, the responsibility and the destiny of man were for the first time

and finally revealed. If that is so, we need not perhaps be afraid of affirming that our witness, imperfect as it necessarily must be, is a Christian witness; and, though our task in the fields I have mentioned is not directly a missionary task, it seems to me to fall well within the area of evangelization as that has to be understood and practiced today in the new free world that is growing up all around us.

*There is no room in Christian service for self-exalting, arrogant, or patronizing Pharisaism which would use such service as an opportunity for increasing its authority and assuring its prestige. True Christian service is characterized by sincere humility and modesty.*

Christ Frees and Unites

Minneapolis Study Document



## The Problem of Lutheran Unity in America

During and since World War II the Lutherans of America have discovered that they play a significant role in world Lutheranism. This new role has not been sought. Circumstances have thrust them into the center of activity and, like Americans in world politics, they are at times ill-equipped, or better, unseasoned for their task. Although they have immense vitality and resourcefulness, they have discovered that these virtues are not enough.

### I

One of their embarrassments has been their ecclesiastical disunity reflected not least in their inability or unwillingness to practice pulpit and altar fellowship and to establish an organically united church. This has been true in spite of the fact that all are Lutherans, binding themselves in their constitutions to the historic Lutheran Confessions.

As is well known, ninety-eight percent of American Lutherans are to be found in two groups, the National Lutheran Council and the Synodical Conference. The former is an agency for cooperative endeavors and embraces two-thirds of the American Lutheran membership. The latter is a federation (its largest member is the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod) whose chief reason for existence has been "to further unity in doctrine" and thereby to unite all "Lutheran synods in America into an American Lutheran church of correct doctrine". There is an absence of intercommunion not only between members of these two groups, but also between some of the churches within the National Lutheran Council. However, the desire for fellowship has often broken through the separating walls. This yearning for communion has been lately recognized and legitimized in some of the NLC churches by a cautious principle known as "selective fellowship", the very words betraying the suspicion that some Lutherans in the eyes of others are not "true" or "sound" Lutherans.

This then is one of the problems which embarrasses Americans at this moment in the history of world Lutheranism when circumstances have thrust much leadership and responsibility upon the American heirs of the Reformation. Faced with the vast interrelations created by modern life and the staggering world conditions compounded of sundry ingredients, the Lutheran churches of America find themselves exasperatingly disunited organizationally. Meanwhile, they explain to each other and to other Christians that their

disunity rests upon doctrinal and/or historical grounds, but that they would like to do something to remedy the situation.

The doctrinal differences must be seen in the light of the history of theological development in American Lutheranism. The "practical" or historical difficulties should perhaps be seen against the varied ecclesiastical adjustments to the American social and cultural situation.

Let us comment quickly on the theological development. One of the reasons that American Lutherans have not been readied for theological leadership is that, in trying to establish themselves ecclesiastically, they pushed aside the new intellectual currents of the nineteenth century. For most of them, theologically speaking, the nineteenth century did not exist except insofar as it provided the stage for "the repristination theology" of the Neo-Confessionalists of Germany. Thus very few American Lutheran theologians of that era really faced liberalism and naturalism. Unquestionably they possessed missionary zeal and real concern for the Gospel, but when intimations of what was happening in the nineteenth century came through to them, they backed away from the problem and sought theological security in the Lutheran "tradition" (orthodoxy's interpretation of the Reformation confession). This in a large measure characterized the period from 1850 to the end of World War I. Instead of facing the challenge of the new intellectual world, which actually they were unequipped and unready to do, they uncritically accepted "the tradition" as a theological bulwark. The sociological and economic fronts were about all an immigrant people could be expected to man. To have added a third front, the theological, without proper training and equipment, might well have proved disastrous to the American Lutherans of the nineteenth century. This does not mean that there was no theological thought among them; rather it means that the theological controversies, of which there were many, were conducted within the framework of "the tradition". Consequently, if there be "doctrinal differences" today at the base of the disunity among American Lutherans, they stem for the most part from divergencies within "the tradition", and only to a lesser extent from present-day attempts by theologians to remain confessional Lutherans while dealing honestly with "the problem of history" in theology. It must be said then that to understand the categories of liberalism, to face its real challenge, and on the basis of this to emerge with a new appreciation of the Lutheran confession as a living, vibrant, and contemporaneous confession has not been the accomplishment of American Lutherans.

But there are also practical or historical reasons which help to account for the ecclesiastical disunity. In part, at least, they are related to the above as effect to cause. Theologically isolated from the new currents of the nineteenth century, the Lutherans of America did their work in a ghetto of cultural islands. This was primarily the result of the historical situation. For example, the Lutherans came to America speaking different tongues and enjoying varied customs. Foreign languages and customs were not easily put aside and



thus quickly became natural barriers in the new land. This resulted in a ghetto-society for most Lutherans, a situation which was actually characterized by many ghettos (the German Lutheran ghetto, the Norwegian Lutheran ghetto, the Swedish Lutheran ghetto, etc.) within the big ghetto. It was not until World War I that Lutherans in America began to emerge from their ghettos. Then suddenly they realized that they were all Lutherans but nonetheless strangely different. Some—especially those whose roots extended to the Colonial period—had been quicker to break through the walls of the ghetto and had lived in communication with the world about them—sometimes to their good, sometimes to their woe. And those who had made the “break-through” were impatient with their brethren who were less eager to open the doors of the compound. On the other hand, the hyphenated American Lutherans—German-Americans, Norwegian-Americans, Swedish-Americans—were suspicious, and in some cases not without justification, of their more “Americanized” brethren. And so the end of World War I found them facing each other with strange and mingled feelings. “Yes, we are all Lutherans, but . . .” seemed to summarize the attitude of most. In this situation there emerged an agency for common enterprise, the National Lutheran Council, in which all but the Synodical Conference cooperated. The latter looked upon other Lutherans as incomplete or pseudo-Lutherans, and therefore could not participate in the new cooperative agency. It was a perplexing predicament.

Then came the “roaring twenties” with the tag end of liberalism blossoming in American Protestantism. What had happened was this: the German liberalism of the end of the nineteenth century was translated into English via the British Isles and began to reach American shores shortly before the first World War. By 1920 many non-Lutheran Protestant seminaries in America were shot through with liberalism and consequently much Protestant thought outside the Lutheran church bore the mark of “modernism”. For the first time American Lutherans stood face to face with liberalism and it was a terrifying experience. What the ghetto had effectively isolated them from, namely nineteenth century liberalism, was suddenly incarnate before them. And what they saw they did not like! By comparison, Lutheranism of the “tradition” looked exceedingly good to them. Consequently, in the “modernist-fundamentalist” controversy of the twenties frightened Lutherans sympathized with the “fundamentalists” because the latter at least did not “remove the crown of thorns from Jesus”. Some, however, felt uncomfortable and unhappy in the company of “fundamentalists” and wondered if there were not some better way of upholding “the faith once delivered to the saints”. They ventured to say that Lutheranism and “fundamentalism” were qualitatively different but they were not quite able to articulate the difference.

In rapid succession came the Depression, Hitlerism, Stalinism, blitzkrieg, Pearl Harbor, Yalta, Potsdam, and the fall of Berlin. The heart-land of world Lutheranism lay prostrate, and destructive waves spread out like concentric

circles from the point of the catastrophe. American Lutherans, almost alone among world Lutherans, were beyond the reaches of destruction, and recognizing their blessings rushed with Christian abandon to alleviate the desperate need of their brethren. When food, clothing, plasma, and love resuscitated the victim and he began to walk and talk again, American Lutherans were dismayed to discover that he spoke a language they did not quite understand. It was not that he spoke German or Danish or Dutch, but that he spoke a different theological and ecclesiastical language, a language that took into consideration the nineteenth century. Therefore, it was to many Americans a foreign language. As after World War I, the situation seemed to be summarized by "Yes, we are all Lutherans, but . . ." In this ambivalent atmosphere of attraction and uncertainty two-thirds of American Lutheranism participated in organizing the Lutheran World Federation at Lund in 1947. But what had been unintentionally submerged at Lund by the joy of seeing war's bitterness dissolved in the Christian *koinonia*—namely, that many American Lutherans were of a different "kind" from the European varieties—came to the surface at the Second Assembly at Hannover in 1952. In other words, some of the warmth of love and compassion born in the years following the end of the war changed to an attitude of questioning and reserved agreement. Meanwhile, as in 1918 at the formation of the NLC, a large segment of American Lutheranism said of the LWF, "We cannot work cooperatively until there is complete adherence to the Lutheran 'tradition'."

This, then, is the situation in mid-twentieth century. The Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation under the banner of "Christ Frees and Unites" comes to America where the great issues suggested above are existential problems.

## II

Since the days of 1918 when the National Lutheran Council was formed for joint activity, men of good will have been saying, "We have sufficient unity to work together; why can't we have union?" In 1957 this longed-for union still seems a quarter of a century or more distant. To say this does not mean that men have been slothful in pursuit of union, but it does mean that despite their efforts there appears to be a great gulf fixed. A large part of the problem lies in the fact that there are two conflicting approaches to Lutheran union in America. The one, historically advocated by the United Lutheran Church in America, holds that where there is subscription to the standards of Lutheran doctrine, namely, the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran church, there can be no doctrinal reason against organic union. The other, advocated by the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, insists that in spite of the fact that certain groups in America call themselves Lutheran, in actuality they are not "true" Lutherans. They have been and are guilty of "doctrinal



deviation" and therefore no fellowship can be practiced. The Missourian point of view is that the unity of the church is best reflected in intellectually refined doctrinal propositions; the greater the agreement to these doctrinal statements, the greater the unity. Fellowship is precluded until there is agreement on all questions, for unity in "doctrine" means the unity of the church. Between these two conflicting approaches there exists an attitude, difficult of definition, which seeks to acknowledge both the ULCA and the Missouri approaches without taking the logical consequences of either. On the one hand, it wants very much to recognize all evangelical Lutherans as "true" Lutherans, but at the same time feels that there are some doctrinal problems which must be settled before there can be union. Central but officially unexpressed is the question of Holy Scripture and the Word of God. Unrecognized, but nevertheless also present, is the concept of the church. This third point of view, moreover, maintains that Lutherans are not psychologically ready for an all-embracing union because of differing traditions and attitudes arising out of the history of the various groups, thus introducing a condition for unity not included in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession. Interwoven in all of this is a concern that ecclesiastical politics (the term is not used in a derogatory sense) will be better served by a strong middle bloc between "United Lutheranism" and "Missourianism" but just how the gulf will be bridged has not been clearly stated.

Roughly these three points of view regarding the union problem are reflected in the present status of the union negotiations in America. The first is represented by the abortive ULCA-Augustana move in 1948-1949 to unite or federate all the National Lutheran Council churches. Remnants of this hope were salvaged when Augustana and ULCA succeeded in 1956 in bringing two smaller groups, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish Grundtvigians) and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod) into discussion looking toward organic union.

The second point of view is reflected chiefly by the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod<sup>1</sup> which at the moment is seeking to restrain centrifugal forces within itself because they threaten the life of the Synodical Conference in which it has been the moving spirit since 1872. The Missouri Synod, therefore, is presently being subjected to centripetal forces which make it impossible for it to manifest any interest in a broader base for union among American Lutherans.

The third point of view is represented by the ALC - ELC - UELC merger negotiations which are expected to eventuate in organic union by 1960. Earlier attempts to bring Augustana into this bloc were unsuccessful, because its leaders preferred a more inclusive merger. More recent overtures toward the Suomi Synod were likewise unsuccessful when the latter group seemed to cast

1. It should be noted that the second point of view also finds support among "Missourian" elements in the ALC and the ELC, the chief groups in the middle bloc.

its lot with ULCA-Augustana<sup>2</sup>. The Lutheran Free Church, however, is presently expected to become a participant in the 1960 merger.

Recognizing then that the Missouri Synod is outside any of the contemplated merger movements, we can leave it for the moment and turn to the other two. The origins of the tension between "United Lutheranism" and the so-called "middle bloc" can be traced back to the years immediately after the formation of the National Lutheran Council. In 1919 certain doctrinal statements known as "the Chicago Theses" were drawn up as a proposed basis for cooperative Home Mission work by the church bodies in the NLC. These theses covered issues which had been the subject of controversy among mid-west Lutherans but had never been in dispute within the ULCA. Along with the "Chicago Theses" a document dealing with the problem of inter-Lutheran and extra-Lutheran relations and known as the "Essentials of a Catholic Spirit" was presented for discussion but never got beyond committee consideration. Consequently the ULCA, whose point of view was reflected in the document, declared it could accept the "Chicago Theses" only as a prolegomenon to the "Essentials of a Catholic Spirit". And since the latter was not acceptable to midwest Scandinavian and German Lutheran groups within the NLC, the ULCA felt it necessary in 1920 to articulate its position in the Washington Declaration, an elaboration of the "Essentials of a Catholic Spirit".

From that time on the confessionally catholic point of view of the ULCA was (1) rejected outright by the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference and (2) viewed with suspicion by mid-west Germans and Scandinavians who cooperated with the ULCA in the NLC. By 1925 the mid-west Germans and Scandinavians (especially the Norwegians) had drawn up and formulated the Minneapolis Theses (which included the Chicago Theses) and made them the basis in 1930 for rallying the major non-ULCA portions of the NLC in a new organization known as the American Lutheran Conference. The latter included the Augustana Synod, which up to 1930 had been negotiating with the ULCA looking toward closer organizational unity.

One of the prominent leaders in the new American Lutheran Conference, Dr. L. W. Boe,<sup>3</sup> commented shortly after its organization: "It is, perhaps, the one movement that has been started in the Lutheran Church of America pretty much from the top and has worked down. Not many knew about the movement before it was presented all ready for organization . . . I have the impression . . . that it was the intention to form a kind of protective league over against the other Lutherans." The ULCA resented its exclusion from the American Lutheran Conference, whose members justified their action by pointing out that the ULCA excluded itself by rejecting the "doctrinal

2. The Suomi Synod committee on union is also authorized to explore union with the middle bloc.

3. Together with Dr. John A. Morehead, an American member of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention from 1923 until his death in 1942. Dr. Boe was President of St. Olaf College (ELC) Northfield, Minnesota. His comments on the Conference are significant because they were made within the organization which he criticized and with whose goals he was in general agreement.



agreement" approach to Lutheran union which they, the American Lutheran Conference, deemed essential, exhibit A being the Minneapolis Theses.

But within the American Lutheran Conference there was increasing dissatisfaction with its own presuppositions, and expression after expression emanated from its leaders in all synods that there was enough of "doctrinal statements". The pressures of World War II added fuel to this fire and soon a definite position of dissent was articulated by the leaders of the Augustana Synod. The manner of its expression coupled with residual fear of the ULCA served only to solidify the opposition, and the American Lutheran Conference found itself divided in two camps. In the years following the war, the previously mentioned move by Augustana and ULCA (1948-1949) urged organic union or federation of the bodies in the NLC. The remaining members of the American Lutheran Conference, fearing the implications of this step, rallied their forces in an independent merger movement, even succeeding temporarily in bringing reluctant Augustana into the negotiations. In 1952 Augustana withdrew from the "middle" and shortly thereafter (1954) the American Lutheran Conference recognized the *de facto* situation and officially dissolved.

Meanwhile, the Missouri Synod had experienced a slight crack in its monolithic body. A group of pastors and professors published in 1945 a "Manifesto" challenging some of the presuppositions and attitudes of the Synod. Though the flurry of excitement caused by this action subsided in a relatively short time, and though the forces of "Missourianism" seem to be presently in control (membership in the LWF was decisively rejected by the Missouri Synod in 1956), there is evidence that unrest and dissatisfaction are present among growing numbers within the Missouri Synod.

Against this background, American Lutherans in three groupings can hardly avoid scrutinizing again their relationship to each other as the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation convenes under the theme "Christ Frees and Unites". Such scrutiny, however, is fraught with both danger and opportunity. One danger will be for each of the three groups to use the theological discussion of the theme as a means for finding justification for its own point of view. A second danger may be to raise almost forgotten issues of the past, relevant then but not now, rather than to confront the burning issues of the present. On the other hand, the Minneapolis Assembly will provide an opportunity to face some of the difficult and embarrassing questions in the history of inter-Lutheran relations and to offer unambiguous answers in the light of the biblical-theological discussion of the theme. It is altogether possible, therefore, that Minneapolis may present the occasion for allowing the Holy Spirit to lead American Lutherans into a new sense of community. What form this may take is difficult to predict, but it should be apparent that the form of a future united Lutheran church in America waits upon a general willingness (1) to concede that there was some positive good in nineteenth century historicism and in this light to judge the "doctrinal differences", (2)

to recognize geography and cultural affinities as significant non-theological factors in evolving ecclesiastical unities, and (3) to reexamine the concept of the church in American Lutheranism with special reference to Article VII of the Augsburg Confession and therefrom to create an attitude that is confessionally catholic rather than confessionally sectarian.

In whatever direction American Lutheranism may be led in the next generation, it is a palpable conclusion from the historical evidence and the contemporary situation that in this year of the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, American Lutherans of all varieties are agonizing over the problem of giving solid expression to their fundamental unity as Lutherans. To this end the great majority are hoping that somehow they may give a united witness to their faith in Jesus Christ who has freed and united his people, the one, holy, catholic church. Increasingly they realize this as an inescapable necessity in the divine economy, "so that the world may believe . . . so that the world may know . . ."

*Pluralism of religions and churches is something quite axiomatic to the American. This feeling, more than anything else, is the foundation of the American doctrine of the "separation of church and state", for it is the heart of the doctrine that the government may not do anything that implies the pre-eminence or superior legitimacy of one church over another. This means that outside the Old World distinction of church and sect America has given birth to a new type of religious structure—the denomination. The denomination as we know it is a stable, settled church, enjoying a legitimate and recognized place in a larger aggregate of churches, each recognizing the proper status of the others.*

Will Herberg

Protestant—Catholic—Jew

An Essay in American Religious Sociology



# FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

## GENEVA DIARY

### CHANGES IN THE L.W.F. CONSTITUTION

It was in 1946 that the Executive Committee of the former Lutheran World Convention prepared a draft of a constitution that was to be the basis for the creation of The Lutheran World Federation. This draft, with some changes made during the 1947 Assembly, is the constitution that has served the L. W. F. since the time of organization. At the second Assembly there was only one minor change made in the provisions of this constitution, namely to increase the membership of the Executive Committee from 15 to 19 with the proviso that at least four must be laymen.

In 1952 at Hannover the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia proposed a resolution passed by the Assembly asking for a study of the question of affiliate or associate membership. At its first meeting the new Executive Committee in 1952 began to discuss this question very seriously and came to an understanding that it would be quite difficult and even impossible to establish more than one type of membership. The reason for the reluctance of the Executive Committee to establish affiliate or associate membership seems to me to be quite clear. It would obviously lead to two grades of Lutheran churches. There would always be the problem of determining who would be the real Lutherans and who would be the pseudo-Lutherans.

In 1953 the U.E.L.C.A. addressed an official-communication to the Executive Committee asking for clarification of the Federation on several points: the question of the L.W.F.'s sponsoring Holy Communion services at assemblies, the question of using Luther's Small Catechism and the Augustana Invariata as the basis for all theological discussion and pronouncements, the question of the relation of the L.W.F. to a member church where an individual pastor or professor was not disciplined in case of error. The Executive Committee, after careful study and discussion, replied to the U.E.L.C.A. that the Federation did not sponsor Holy Communion but that the inviting church did so and secondly, that the Federation bases its discussions entirely upon the Holy Scriptures and the confessions of the church. A further explanation of what was meant by this second statement was issued by the Department of Theology in the annual report of Dr. Vajta in 1955 and is again incorporated in the five-year report of the Department of Theology to the Assembly. The Executive Committee in its reply stated that since the Federation was an association of autonomous churches there could be no interference in the life of any of the member churches.

Later communications from the U.E.L.C.A. indicated a desire on its part to change the constitution of the L.W.F. at three points. Article II which is the credal basis of the Federation did not seem to be explicit enough. This article reads: "The Lutheran World Federation acknowledges the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only source and the infallible norm of all church doctrine and practice, and sees in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism, a pure exposition of the Word of God." Secondly, the U.E.L.C.A. was interested in changing the purpose clauses of the Constitution, particularly these: "The purposes of The Lutheran World Federation are: (a) To bear united witness before the world to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the power of God for salvation; (b) To foster Lutheran participation in ecumenical movements; (c) To develop a united Lutheran

approach to responsibilities in missions and education." The third change would affect the method or procedure by which a church becomes a member of the Federation.

It is, of course, generally known that these requests from our brethren in Australia were influenced by union negotiations between the U.E.L.C.A. and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia. These discussions have been going on for a number of years and have so far resulted in agreement in doctrine. The two points at which these two churches have been unable to reach agreement at present are membership in the L.W.F. on the part of the U.E.L.C.A. and the partnership of that church in the Lutheran Mission New Guinea together with the Neuendettelsau Mission, Leipzig Mission and the American Lutheran Church. In order to understand the motivation of the suggested changes coming from Australia, it is important to know the background of these two rather small churches attempting to unite into one church. The questions that arise in connection with the Australian proposals go to the very heart of the nature of a federation and particularly the nature of the L. W. F. For that reason the Executive Committee has appointed a special sub-committee which has given two years of study to these questions and will report at the meeting in Minneapolis.

There is another element that should be kept in mind in a discussion of the constitutional changes. In 1952 invitations were sent to the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and other bodies affiliated in the Synodical Conference in the U. S. A., to the Lutheran Free Churches of Germany and to the E. L. C. A. in Australia. The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod voted decisively against membership in the L. W. F. at its recent triennial conference in 1956. It states as its reasons for rejection of membership the following:

"The constitution of the Lutheran World Federation clearly indicates to us that the nature and purposes of the Lutheran World Federation are such that they promote cooperation of the member churches in actual churchwork, e. g., joint missions and educational endeavors;

The doctrinal basis (Article II) of the constitution of the Lutheran World Federation does not insist on full confessional agreement on the part of member churches;

Membership in the Lutheran World Federation is in itself a form of cooperation in the aims and purposes of the Lutheran World Federation.

Such cooperation would involve us in a union in spiritual matters with groups not in doctrinal agreement with us."

The Assembly will thus be faced with a number of important issues on possible changes in the constitution. There will be those who will ask if, after ten years, the L.W.F. is ready to make major changes in the constitution. Others will say that, in the light of the request of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod there ought to be more time given for study of these issues by the member churches. We can also point out that the very nature of the theme selected for this next Assembly gives adequate opportunity for an expression of the theological issues underlying the basis of unity among Lutherans and such practical matters as intercommunion, altar and pulpit fellowship, etc. We should be able to state to one another our convictions on the basis of Scripture and the Confessions in an Assembly of this kind in order that we may reach a consensus on these vital and important questions.

Our Federation welcomes the interest and concern on the part of member churches as expressed by the U. E. L. C. A. In order to be sensitive to the wishes and needs of all the elements within the Federation we must frankly face such issues as those raised by these brethren. In fact it can be said that this is one of the main reasons for the existence of the Federation, namely to provide a forum for items such as now face the church in Australia in connection with its hoped-for merger. The issues presented by our friends from "down under" are very similar to questions being raised in merger discussions in the U.S.A., in South Africa and many other parts of the world.

Full opportunity for expression of viewpoint on these proposals will be given in the Assembly when all the delegates can together consider these items. We believe that such an opportunity is necessary for the growth of the Federation and for the continuance of confidence and trust in one another as we come together in our assemblies every five years.

Carl E. Lund-Quist



## *Theology*

### **A Conference of Lutheran Theological Professors**

During the past four years the activities of the Department of Theology have been aimed at the stimulation and deepening of theological communication between the various Lutheran churches. For this purpose several conferences have been held, for we realize that one of the most effective means of communication is personal contact between those who are working in the field of theology.

The Congress on Luther Research, which was held last year in Aarhus, Denmark, was the first conference at which theological research was at the center. In connection with the Assembly in Minneapolis this coming summer, the Commission on Theology of the Lutheran World Federation is ready to take a second step in the establishment of closer contact between those responsible for theological education in the different countries.

At past Assemblies attempts have been made to bring theological professors together for a separate session, not only for personal contact but also for an exchange of ideas and information. Now in connection with the third Assembly the Department of Theology has worked out plans for a separate conference preceding the Assembly. This conference will be held in St. Paul, Minnesota, at Luther Seminary, from August 12 to 14, 1957. It will be a common undertaking of the Commission on Theology of the Lutheran World Federation and the Annual Conference of American Lutheran Theological Professors.

Among those attending the conference will be all those who are connected with the task of theological education in theological institutions themselves or in the leadership of the church, some who are delegates or official visitors at the Assembly, and at the same time others who are members of the American Conference. This latter group includes not only member churches of the LWF but also the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Upon its suggestion the conference will be characterized as a "free conference", thereby facilitating the attendance of persons belonging to this church. For participants outside of the

United States the term "Free Conference" will, no doubt, have little meaning, nevertheless they will understand that this term is the necessary condition under which some can enter upon theological discussion. The addition of this term "free" means that the discussions at the conference are not intended to be binding on the participants. Were the conference not to be so characterized, it is possible that members of the Missouri Synod would not be able to participate. The term "free" will only serve as assurance that the conference will not arrive at official doctrinal or other statements which might be binding on the participants. Since this commitment has never been planned for the conference, I assume that the non-Americans will gladly accept the characterization expressed in the words "Free Conference".

There are certainly several questions which may be raised when Lutheran theological professors come together from different parts of the world. The central point of their discussions will be the basis of our task as Lutheran theological educators, namely, the dogma of the Christian church as it is founded in Scripture, thought out and lived during the history of the church, critically examined in the light of contemporary teaching and preaching and, finally, carried out in practice in the daily life of the church, its religious instruction, its worship and its care of souls.

Before reaching the main problems of this theological task, there will be some questions to be clarified. Theology has its place and responsibility in the life of the church; at the same time, however, theology is bound to the objective principles entailed in every type of scholarship. At this point, the differences in theological work in different parts of the world have become apparent. In Europe the theological faculty has been from the beginning one of the faculties of the university. It has continued in this position, although some recent developments have forced the church to take theological education into its own hands. In other parts of the world (the Americas, Asia and Africa), however, theological education became the sole responsibility of the church right from the beginning. In the exchange of ideas between Lutheran theologians throughout the world, this difference in setting of theological education has raised a number of questions. The question of theological approach will, therefore, be

one of the main themes of our conference. It is formulated under the heading, "Theology—Its Functions at the University and in the Church".

One of the questions growing immediately out of the above-mentioned theme is the problem of "The Foundation and Freedom of Theology". This will, therefore, be the second theme at our conference. The foundation of all Lutheran theology is the message of the Scriptures, which our fathers confessed in the Reformation. In this confession to the message of Christ the daily life of the church is to be lived. This message binds theology to its foundation. At the same time, however, it gives theology the freedom to experience again and again renewal from this given basis. These points of view will be considered in three discussion groups following the lecture on this topic.

Guided by the two themes mentioned above, we hope that consideration can be given to present-day theological research in our Lutheran churches. It will certainly be one of our aims to get as much information as possible about the present work of Lutheran theology. Presentations from various churches and different parts of the world will give therefore information on theological education and research. There will also be reports on the two Commissions of the Lutheran World Federation—

those on Theology and Liturgy—which have a special contact with the Department of Theology. We are looking forward to these discussions with eager interest because they will certainly point out tasks and ideas for future theological cooperation among Lutheran theologians.

In facing the problems of a divided Christianity and of different theological schools we shall have a great opportunity to make thorough plans and give guidance to all those who are interested in theological work. One of the outcomes of this conference could well be the presentation of suggestions as to ways in which common theological undertakings may be carried on by Lutherans. If so, it would be important not only for the daily life and work of our present theological faculties and individual churches but also for the church universal seeking for that unity which, according to our opinion, can be found only in the saving message of our Lord Jesus Christ who by his Holy Spirit is the only teacher and guide in all theological undertaking.

If our coming conference in St. Paul inspires Lutheran theological professors to understand this great responsibility, then the conference will have achieved its goal and will certainly have prepared the way for a deeper and more thorough communication of theological ideas for the glory of God.

*Vilmos Vajta*

## Lutheran World Federation Theological Conferences 1957

### Theme: Christ Frees and Unites

May 13–17	Berlin/Spandau, Germany
May 20–24	Salzerbad, Austria
June 4–6	Bordighera, Italy
June 11–14	Hothorpe Hall, near Rugby, England
June 17–21	Nyköping, Sweden
June 30–July 3	Pocono Crest, Pa., USA
July 8–11	Lutheridge, Ashville, N.C., USA
July 14–17	Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, USA
July 22–25	Waterloo Seminary, Waterloo, Ont., Canada
July 29–Aug. 1	Augustana Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., USA
Sept. 3–6	Pacific Lutheran College, Parkland, Wash., USA
Sept. 9–12	Asilomar, Monterey, Peninsula, Calif., USA



## *Liturgy and Church Music*

### World Lutheranism in Conversation on Church Music

#### The Situation

There have been for some time already of course conversations regarding church music between representatives of the various Lutheran churches. But it is amazing how haphazardly—humanly speaking—such encounters came about and how few participants have been involved. The Lutheran World Federation's Commission on Liturgy, it is true, received at Hannover in 1952 a mandate prescribed as to both time (until Minneapolis) and sphere of work. But the creation of a forum for conversations on church music in the various Lutheran churches which should somehow be binding had to be left more to the personal initiative of individuals.

In church music the Lutheran church has been entrusted with a very special and peculiar responsibility. This is shown not least in the fact that the Lutheran churches, wherever they are, are always having to struggle afresh with the problem of the right shaping of their liturgy and church music.

As far as the *European churches* are concerned, they started out in basically identical positions at the time of the Reformation. Since the center of gravity of the development of the Reformation lay in Germany, the Reformation hymns of German origin have strongly stamped congregational singing and therefore church music in all European churches of Lutheran character. The liturgy was based—with some exceptions—on a purified version of the mass, however different in detail the variants of the few basic types may look.

It was the later convulsions of church history, the Counter-Reformation, the Enlightenment and the reaction to them, which destroyed essential common features and brought about the great uncertainty in formative liturgical principles.

Thus freedom in regard to form became caprice; knowledge of the very intimate connection between spirit and matter, between content and form, simply escaped those who were responsible. Or the traditional forms underwent "progressive" trans-

formation which emptied them of real content. At best the vitality of apparently dead forms of liturgy and church music was preserved throughout this barren period because these forms were left untouched for some reason or other.

In the last century the first "attempts at resuscitation" were begun. This is not the place to describe in detail the components of this development. Theological, musical, historical, aesthetic and other motives were at work. Because of historical distance, we today are able more clearly to recognize many of the trends in the liturgical and church music restoration of the nineteenth century in Germany for what they were, trends which it was impossible for the supporters of renewal attempts at that time to see critically.

But a critical review of this development is becoming important precisely for conversations on the subject in world Lutheranism today, because where efforts at renewal are only now beginning many by-paths can be avoided if one is ready to learn from history.

A reformation in the field of church music and liturgy has for various local reasons by no means as yet found a place for itself in all Lutheran churches. This may be traced, in part, to the fact that theological trends have not yet shown the significance of this field, and, in part, to the fact that forms in use at present, in spite of the need for reform in many aspects, still have so much substance or elasticity that church life does not need to suffer really seriously on account of them. In part also the church political situation no doubt gives rise to other emphases in the life of the church, so that reforms have had to be consciously put off. Perhaps here and there tendencies of a contrary nature are even to be found, so that reform cannot be thought of until the present forms are first protected against further erosion.

Thus there arises even in the churches in Europe today a situation in which those who wish to discuss questions of church music and liturgy must first of all rediscover a basis for their conversations, since they are to a certain extent at different points of historical development. In this situation a certain arc of tension exists between the necessity for renewal in liturgy and church music which has been clearly recognized and affirmed theologically on



the one side, and the existence of a continuing dissolution of the forms of liturgy and church music as yet unchecked by the official church, on the other.

In addition to this there is the fact that the *younger Lutheran churches around the world* have allowed their liturgy and church music to be determined by a different historical and cultural basis. In such areas there was the continental heritage which was strongly marked but nevertheless in itself diversified (not only linguistically!), and which abroad was subjected to an unavoidable and powerful process of intermingling. In addition there are the frequently unrecognized and thus calmly tolerated or even cultivated musical influences of a decidedly non-Lutheran origin. There are, above all in North America, the influences of a mixed musical culture containing likewise important non-European ingredients. A marginal note may be added at this point, and we quote a comment from someone in the United States, since a European can hardly claim to be capable of judging rightly in this regard.

"A European student of Church Music visiting America for the first time is bewildered by the confusion he finds in the music of the Protestant Church in this country. He finds all types of music represented—different styles and forms in which manifold spiritual ideas are expressed which seem to have no relation to Christian faith and life . . . One of [the problems] becomes apparent if we contrast the so-called 'Gospel-Song' with the Chorale of Luther . . . In contrast to it the modern 'Gospel-Song' is no more than the expression of a subjective, egocentric experience . . . A renewed understanding of the musician's art as *service* must replace the concert-hall attitude . . ." That may suffice as a side-light.

Thus in addition to the European situation, in which the conversation is already not easy, a further difficulty arises because of the diversity of the churches outside of Europe.

The differentiation reaches its climax through the fact that the so-called *younger churches* of the mission fields recognize and affirm more and more emphatically the task of arriving at forms of liturgy and church music which are relevant in their situation. In this point—as in so many other areas of work—they need the help of the older churches. However, it is not so

much a matter of offering and reshaping traditional forms as of recognizing the theological principles involved and their relevant application in a completely new situation.

The divergencies are so tremendously wide, intellectually, theologically and culturally, that one might ask to what extent conversation is in fact possible, meaningful or promising.

On the other hand, the development of the Lutheran World Federation has shown specifically that there is something positive contained in wide difference of opinion, but that this positive aspect can be realized only in an atmosphere of genuine Christian discussion. The situation for real conversation is in fact provided precisely when the partners are of various backgrounds and have had different experiences and when they do not simply have their respective opinions confirmed. But it is also the increasing experience of all ecumenical conversations that in order to reach any kind of mutual understanding genuine church fellowship in necessary as a basis for such conversations.

### The First Contacts

There is always something "providential" in the biblical sense about genuine contacts, that is, we become involved in encounters which are not simply guided by the hand of man but which lead us to suspect the hand for God. At the beginning of the "International Conference on Lutheran Church Music", which is now in process of being constituted in an organized fashion, as the "Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music", there were these personal contacts, which quickly led those concerned, in spite of the hitherto diverse approaches, to agreement regarding the questions to be discussed, because those concerned were vitally involved in them. In this whole matter the concern was always the liturgy and music of the *church* and not certain "tendencies", "special interests" or the like.

The first attempt to enter into conversation on a larger scale regarding "The Bible, the Confessions and Worship: Forms of Liturgy and Church Music" was made in Amsterdam, with the example of the Lutheran church in Holland as a background. In September 1955, while those taking part in the Conference could participate, a new



order of service and a new hymnal were introduced as the fruit of a reconsideration of the church's foundations. Not everywhere has such advance been made that the consequences of the church's credal foundation can be so clearly manifested as here. Many of the churches find themselves only at the beginning of this development. But all of the representatives assembled in Amsterdam noticed the fact that decisive questions pertaining to the church are dealt with when phenomena in the area of liturgy and church music are traced to their very roots.

At Amsterdam the elucidating reports from the participating churches contributed considerably to the furthering of fellowship. But there would have been no genuine church fellowship if the participants had not had from the very beginning a common confession as a basis. The fact that discussions and reports were from the beginning to be deeply anchored was shown by the opening lecture by Dr. Vajta on the nature of worship in the Lutheran church.

The meeting did not end with the formation of a definite organization. Nevertheless, a five-member working committee was given the express responsibility to further continuing cooperation. This team met last summer in Sweden, expanded as provided to include a second representative from America, and so including three clergymen and three church musicians: The Rev. Dr. Edgar S. Brown, Jr., New York, U.S.A.; Cantor Sten Garlosson, Gamla Uppsala, Sweden; Professor Theo. Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaiso, Ind., U.S.A.; The Rev. Friedrich Hofmann, Heilsbronn b. Nuremberg, Germany; Cantor Willem Mudde, Utrecht, Holland; The Rev. Dr. Vilmos Vajta, Geneva, Switzerland.

The working committee has prepared a letter of invitation and particularly a set of guiding principles which give stronger outline to the further development of the Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music, without anticipating the official organization, which remains the prerogative of the next congress which is to meet in the summer of 1958.

The Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Minneapolis should provide the opportunity to extend still further the area of contact, even now not limited to the Lutheran World Federation, and especially to strengthen those contacts which

exist between the working committee and the Lutheran churches of America.

### The Bases of the Work

These have been laid down in certain Guiding Principles which attempt to say in summary fashion what the concerns are. Careful study will no doubt clearly indicate why here and there apparently obvious statements have been made. The way the Guiding Principles have been set up should indicate clearly the bases from which the particular tasks of the Conference can be deduced. The ecumenical view as well as the dangerous secularization of our time have been fully kept in mind.

All those who see a responsibility in the area of liturgy and church music are invited to participate in the work of the Conference.

### Guiding Principles

1. The churches of the Lutheran Reformation see a biblical relationship between their confessional basis and the form of their worship and of their church music.

2. The liturgy is the appropriate form for the content of the service of worship: In the service the Lord deals with the congregation through Word and Sacrament; the congregation responds by listening, praying, giving thanks and by making proper use of the Sacraments.

3. Church music is that music which has a serving function in the life of the congregation with regard to that which happens in worship. This means that church music can serve, on the one hand, the Word of God, "proclamation", and be on the other hand a means by which the congregation responds in adoration, prayer and thanksgiving; often it serves in an organic combination of these two functions.

4. The neglect of the relationship between form and content has had, as the history of the church during the last centuries has shown, a very detrimental effect on the church. For this reason it is the urgent task of the church to strive to find a form of liturgy and church music that corresponds to the nature of the service.

5. Striving for appropriate forms includes taking into consideration, in so far as it is not opposed to the Gospel, the historical situation of the congregation, that is, historical heritage, the particular situation of the life of a people, cultural environment, the ability of the congregation to accept other forms, etc. All such efforts must bear in mind the command of the New Testament to love.

6. Various theoretical and practical tasks thus arise: e.g., theological reflection on the problem of form and content (the so-called theology of worship and of music); questions pertaining to orders of service, hymnals, materials for organist and choir, etc.; liturgy and church music in the younger churches; reflection on the relationship of the forms of liturgy and church music to cultural environment; the question of the training of pastors and church musicians in matters of liturgy and church music; stewardship and church music (the home-mission significance of church music); the question of the church choir, of the relationship of



Gregorian plainsong to the various languages, of the organ and worship, of the place of the church musician (viewed ecclesiastically and sociologically); church music for the occasional services; instrumental music in worship, etc.

7. The Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music is an association of churches, organizations and individuals who believe it to be an important task to put these fundamental principles of church music into practice. The Conference intends to take the following opportunities for cooperative endeavor:

- a. To give information on the situation in the individual churches and to compare notes on experience.
- b. To carry on studies through individuals and commissions.
- c. To give information regarding literature in the field, including music publications of all churches.
- d. To give information regarding the more important events in liturgy and church music in all countries.
- e. To maintain contact with all endeavors in the field of liturgy and church music in the churches of Lutheran orientation.
- f. To maintain contact with the work of the Lutheran World Federation.
- g. To arrange meetings of study groups and conferences.

8. The Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music is based on these fundamental principles. It is, however, open to all movements in the ecumenical world which have similar purposes, and hopes that through encounter with them there will be a mutual enrichment of their work.

9. The Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music views its work, as far as the promise of God's blessing rests upon human endeavor, as an essential contribution to the struggle for the "upbuilding of the congregation" (I Cor. 12, 13 and 14) in the menacing secularization of our time.

*Friedrich Hofmann*

## *World Council of Churches*

### **Rapid Social Change**

In 1954 the direction of the World Council's program of study on social questions took a decisive new turn when the Second Assembly of the Council proposed that attention be concentrated on the social problems confronting peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. After careful study and consultation a plan of action for an ecumenical study project on "The Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change" was prepared by the Working Committee of the Department on Church and Society and forwarded to the World Council's Central Committee which gave its approval.

Realizing the danger, that this descriptive caption might lead the imagination far afield, it may be advisable to begin this article with a definition of areas of rapid social change. To pinpoint the areas intended to be delineated by this phrase we can say that areas of rapid social change are those sections of the world more commonly known as the underdeveloped countries (Asia, Africa and Latin America). There are several reasons why this latter term is unacceptable especially for Christians. First we must recognize that "development" is a relative term. Apart from the ill feeling created by the employment of such a term, it is not wholly accurate. If the only standards of measurement to be applied were those set by technology and scientific advance, then we would have a right to talk in terms of underdeveloped countries. If however, we regard life as a composite of many factors, not the least of which are intangible elements such as meaning in life, hope for the future, status in community, kinship bonds, security, satisfaction, etc., then our mechanized standards (or western standards) are not always superior. Secondly, the term "underdeveloped countries" sets up an unnecessary barrier between the West and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America based on a superior-inferior relationship. It is true that these areas of the world are largely dependent upon the countries of Western Europe and North America to bring to them the knowledge and equipment necessary to establish them in the modern world. At the same time, this relationship of technical dependence should not blind us as to a more realistic relationship that binds us as human beings, thrown into intimate contact by the scientific realities of our day, and greatly dependent upon one another for our future livelihood. We live in an age where the social, economic, and political, as well as the spiritual health of every section of the world has its effect upon every other area of the world. In such a situation, though many individuals, and some governments also, are slow to realize these facts, the world has become a neighborhood and men of every nation, color and creed are in a unique and significant relationship to each other, one which leaves no room for barriers that are constructed on such dubious premises.



The Christian mission to such a world must be carefully examined and reexamined. A starting point is the adoption of the phrase "areas of rapid social change". Much of the success of such a program is forecast by its attitude or its approach. By supplanting the term "underdeveloped countries" with this new term, at least two advantages have been won. The two objections already referred to have been cancelled out by transferring the emphasis of the study from a power-weakness relationship, to the more positive aspects of the significant events happening today in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Change, though it precipitates many problems, is not a negative aspect of society. In fact, in most areas of the world where economic and social ills plague a society, social scientists recommend radical change to remedy the existing situation. Change is a positive factor in these areas which the World Council of Churches' study is emphasizing.

The second advantage in coining the phrase "rapid social change" is the association such a title creates between East and West. We have already established that change is not a negative aspect of society. On the contrary, social change is an ingredient of every healthy social order. The constant cycle of styles, the development of new methods and patterns, the search of each generation for appropriate media to express its deepest reflections; all of these aspects so familiar to Western society are a part of normal healthy social change. While it is possible for us to talk about underdeveloped countries or primitive people in the third person, it is not so easy to speak of social change with the same aloofness. Through the approach made by this study it may be possible to create a new, more realistic attitude among Christians toward the fundamental social changes that are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are estranged from their problems neither by the fact of change nor the result of the change that they are undergoing and will continue to undergo. Social change is recognized as a necessary cornerstone upon which our society is built, and the strange events of the last few decades that have drawn the whole world into an interdependent community make the results of social change in any area matters of deepest interest and concern to us. The phrase "areas of rapid social change" is

more than a new way of expressing an old platitude. It is an attempt of the World Council of Churches to bring to the churches a new attitude toward areas of the world that have been customarily looked upon as the sections where the church in a paternalistic sort of way has had a missionary responsibility. It is an attempt to change the mind of the church from an attitude of pity to concern, benevolence to understanding, and paternalism to brotherhood. The introductory pamphlet to the study records this intention in this way: "... Social changes ... have in many cases made the traditional patterns of this Christian witness irrelevant. The churches must show that they are capable of formulating their approach in terms which speak to the new situation."

So far we have been discussing a few aspects of a universal phenomenon of our age, namely the fact of social change and its particular effect on certain sections of the world where this change is most comprehensive and far-reaching. And we have tried to show, simply on the basis of the kind of world in which we live, that all men have a stake in what is occurring in these areas. Now, however, we turn to a more fundamental aspect of our involvement in the problems encountered in areas of rapid social change, namely our common responsibility as Christians. "Judging from the reactions of many churches, there is uncertainty about the nature of this responsibility of the churches toward society and also some confusion as to the role of the Church in coping with the intricate problems that arise in situations where traditional patterns and structures are breaking down." If this observation made by the Working Committee of the Department on Church and Society (Herrenalb, Germany, July 1955) is correct and representative of reservations about Christian responsibility in society in the thinking of most churches, then it is necessary for us to emphasize in this article the biblical and theological context out of which the Rapid Social Change study has been drawn. There is a long and interesting history of debate and discussion that lies behind the recent synthesis of theological opinion in ecumenical circles. While there were points in this history when ecumenical theological thought consisted largely of agreement based on the lowest common denominator, today the



Protestant world is forced to recognize that some of the most creative work is being done in ecumenical groups. The reexamination of the great themes of the Christian faith as a cooperative effort of theologians representing different traditions has enriched and stimulated the theological awareness of the church beyond measurable limits. A recent example of this type of effectiveness is the result that the theme of the Evanston Assembly has had on the life of the churches. To expect that Protestant Christianity should now be unified in its attitude toward "Christ—The Hope of the World" would be to misinterpret the meaning of ecumenical discussion. There is no doubt, however, that as a result of Evanston countless Christians turned to their Bibles and to their churches' traditions to consider seriously — perhaps for the first time — the nature of our hope in Christ.

No area of theological discussion reflects this pattern more clearly than the development of ecumenical thought on the theology of social action. Shaking themselves free from any utopian type of social ethic, the delegates to the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 coined the concept of "The Responsible Society". This is considered to be a "kind of summation" of all the thinking on political and economic issues done in ecumenical circles before the organization of the World Council of Churches. To be sure, it has been the key concept in the discussion of these issues since 1948 and has plotted the direction for the activity in the field of social action of the World Council of Churches. Amsterdam defines this key concept in one sentence: "A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it."

It is probably true to say that no statement on social questions has been so widely circulated and so enthusiastically supported. Quiet years followed this first pronouncement of the idea of the responsible society and between the first and second assemblies the implications of such a concept were seriously considered by individuals and groups within many churches. Evanston (1954) was thus prepared to go

into greater detail and examine more concrete issues concerning the churches' responsibility in political and economic life. Special attention was given at Evanston to the problems peculiar to the economically underdeveloped regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Political and industrial development, land reform, population and problems of independence were all considered in the context of the responsible society and its meaning for practicing Christians in these areas and around the world. The interest aroused in this subject was not exhausted at Evanston. Discussions continued among individuals, in the churches and especially in the newly organized Division of Studies of the World Council of Churches. The many different trains of thought on this subject were brought together at Davos in 1955, resulting in a decision to invest the major portion of the time and staff of the Department on Church and Society in a new ecumenical study project on the theme: "The Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change".

With this as a background we turn now to a more specific consideration of theological thought that lies behind the concept of the responsible society and the Rapid Social Change study. Again it would be facetious to suppose that there is a body of theology which is subscribed to by all the churches participating in these studies. The definition of responsible society is a tool that can be used most effectively by those who do not try to make its content too concrete. As the Evanston Report explained it, "Responsible society is a criterion by which we judge existing social orders and at the same time a standard to guide us in the specific choices we have to make." One thing that makes the concept of responsible society so useful is its freedom from any one specific theological tradition, yet its undeniable loyalty to the attitude and mood of the New Testament. It is now possible to point to a growing ecumenical consensus regarding the Biblical foundations of Christian social concern which has been offered as a basis for discussion in the churches. In this introductory article we cannot do better than to quote several passages from this consensus as it is formulated in the Second Statement on Rapid Social Change (Geneva 1956).



"God in becoming man in Christ has identified Himself with mankind. This means that all people and all human groups share a common human dignity. The Christian's behaviour as a member of society is judged by his relation to God's ultimate purpose for all His children. Each Christian is therefore called by God to be a witness to what He is doing in and for the world."

"God's revelation of Himself in the crucified and risen Christ shows that He is Lord of this world as well as the Church. God in His mercy uses us to accomplish His redemptive purpose. This means that the Church in which Christ is continually present does not exist for itself but for the world, and in its life as a community and in its witness and action in the world, it must express Christ's ministry of healing and reconciliation for all men."

"God's love for His creatures requires us to seek justice and the well-being of all men. The Christian must work in the world and among and with men as they are, with the knowledge of his own dependence on divine mercy and of the sin and finiteness of all things human. This means that God calls us to act in society, making use of economic and political structures and movements which are available instead of waiting until there is an ideal situation. The certainty of His victory frees us from illusions and false hopes, and at the same time guarantees that in whatever circumstances we find ourselves our efforts will have significance in God's ongoing purposes for society."

"Man is a unity of body and spirit, and his true nature is realized in society. The life of the person is deeply influenced by his material environment and by his membership in the community. The Church and the Christian must be concerned about any threat to the welfare and dignity of persons arising from particular economic, social and political situations."

"The Christian truth known to us through the Bible becomes a means of deliverance from the absolutizing tendency of all ideologies. The danger of developing a Christian 'ideology' based on Biblical texts taken out of context is often very real and will be avoided where the Bible is interpreted in the light of God's disclosure of Himself in Christ. The big problem for Christians in a time of such great change may be to avoid a 'Christian' social ideology, that is, expressing in a too definite and universal way what is the meaning of Christian justice and freedom."

The general prototype of Lutheran participation in the ecumenical movement is best represented by the strong, adamant dogmatician who guards well his sixteenth century confessional fortress at the theological round table, but who is without comment or willingness to participate in programs that attempt to translate theological truth into social action. If this stereotype is unfair, it is nevertheless indisputable that it exists. And the causes for its existence are obvious to anyone who spends a minimum of time in ecumenical circles. A sizeable number of Lutheran laymen would probably be reasonably articulate on some motifs of Luther's thought like the centrality of forgiveness, the meaning and comprehensiveness of sin and the dependence of faith upon Christ alone. But I am quite certain that it would be safe to assume that few are familiar with Luther's concept of the *larvae Dei* (masks of God). According to this view, the whole world,

comprised of all the created elements as well as the institutions of society, is a series of concealments behind which the hidden God is at work fulfilling his will. Rightly understood, these masks of God are media of divine revelation. "All created Ordinances" Luther says, "are meant to contain Christ." Lutheran theology has resourcefulness in this area that has not been clearly explicated or understood in the ecumenical discussion of social questions. To be sure, our tradition needs spokesmen in the ecumenical movement, but most of all it needs a serious consideration at the parish level as to the implications of this theology for men and women in society.

We move now to a description of a few facts about the churches in areas of rapid social change and some of the challenges and opportunities that face these Christian communities. Missionaries are not often thought of (in the west) as bearers of culture and social order. But the fact is that the missionary, as well as (if not more than) the businessman, the miner and the soldier, is a vehicle of westernization and social change. The church and its personnel are therefore marked in many missionary fields as stimulators, if not originators of social change. And from a purely sociological point of view, the fact of social change is the same whether it is initiated by a missionary or a miner. It is startling to hear an African sociologist describe the westernizing impact of a mission as the most significant contribution that Christianity had made in his home village. (Lecture by Prof. Busia, Bossey, 1957.) The same lecturer illustrated his point with what he called a typical example. Time to the native African has no meaning apart from the value and definition that an individual places on it. An appointed time on a certain day means little more in Africa than that at some time in the future an event or meeting will take place. Into this situation walks the missionary who, in his ignorance of or indifference toward this peculiarity, schedules his service for 10:30 on Sunday morning. Immediately he has introduced a social revolution into the life of the community to which he is ministering. And what is more, the Gospel he proclaims is inseparably identified with the new concept of time. When it is seen how such casual incidents can be the potential bearers of a great deal of confusion and



misunderstanding, it is readily acknowledged that the idea of church, with the many customs and traditions that are considered necessary to the establishment of a church, could possibly create innumerable changes in the life of a native community. The church, to be sure, has played and continues to play, a major role in stimulating social and cultural change.

Organized churches as well as individual Christians face many diversified problems regarding their relationship to society in areas of rapid social change. In some places where churches are established they are oftentimes associated with customs, traditions and social orders which are losing their stability in the transformation of society resulting from the industrialization and urbanization of large areas. Here the task of the church is to renew her identification with the needs and the concerns of men as they now exist. In societies where social change is rapid, the established institutions once capable of giving guidance and direction are oftentimes rendered obsolete largely because they have not kept abreast of the changing cultural climate. In such situations the churches can contribute real leadership in the direction of thought and programs aiming toward the creation of institutions that are necessary to responsible society. In other areas, where the church is a small minority and where she is always suspect as a foreign element in the social matrix, her task is a different one. Here she must not only take an interest in the society in which she exists but she must also attempt to demonstrate to her fellow citizens that the Gospel of love and forgiveness through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is not a western heritage but a divine event revealing the one true God and his purpose for all men. In such areas where the church is small, drawing her membership largely from the lower classes, she is often in the foreground of social change and progress, offering suggestions and agitating for action. But whatever the concrete situations are in the particular churches, it is generally true that areas of rapid social change offer to the church a threat as well as a challenge. In places where rampant nationalism identifying itself inseparably with a certain religion is asserting its influence on society, a church whose voice and message is irrelevant to the contemporary problems of its people

is in imminent danger of extinction. But churches in the same situations that show themselves capable of understanding the problems as well as the passions of the people may be accepted as welcome and contributing constituents of society.

What help or support can the World Council of Churches give to churches facing such situations? This question lay at the heart of the lengthy discussions at Evanston on the subject of the churches in underdeveloped areas. A concrete plan of action was forthcoming at a meeting of the working committee of the Department on Church and Society a year later. The Rapid Social Change study is an attempt to encourage churches in Asia, Africa and Latin America to become aware of and if possible, actively interested in the social situations to which they are ministering. Stimulation toward this end is offered in a number of ways. The hub of the method is regional conferences which bring together church leaders and interested laymen to discuss the concrete problems of local areas with special reference to the ways in which direction and guidance can be initiated by the church. Such an approach does not emphasize the findings of experts or intend to contribute to the ever increasing collection of sociological data. Insofar as such material is useful and available, it is put at the disposal of persons in the local situation. But the real interest in the Rapid Social Change study is to confront small responsible groups of clergy and laymen with the mission of the church in changing societies. As a result of these conferences and the reports that are published, it is hoped that similar discussions and thought will be given to problems raised by groups on the parish and congregational level. Background material and organizational suggestions are offered from the staff of the Department on Church and Society in Geneva. But the substance of discussion is lived out by the participants, thus insuring the consideration of real problems and real situations.

The second aspect of the Rapid Social Change study is the publication and circulation of printed matter on the major issues. Apart from the writing and reviewing of technical papers, reports of conferences, newsletters and descriptions of successful projects being carried out in areas of rapid social change are published



and circulated. In this way the exchange of unique and useful ideas is facilitated and there is provided an atmosphere of international concern and participation in the events of a single isolated community with little contact beyond its own boundaries.

After two years of work, the majority of which has been spent in setting up the organizational aspects, it is possible to say that the Rapid Social Change study has been well received among the churches in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since the success of such a study is primarily dependent on the stimulation it receives in the area itself, in some sections progress is extremely slow owing to the lack of interested or informed leadership. It is encouraging, however, to watch enthusiasm for such a program develop and reflect itself in the life and writing of the churches in areas of rapid social change.

What are the results of this study going to be? This is a frequent question in ecumenical circles where this study has aroused considerable interest and among people who

have recently been informed of this project. It is also a question anticipated by the Department on Church and Society. But perhaps one of the more fortunate aspects of the study is that the possible answers to this question have not been fully anticipated. The intent of the Department on Church and Society is to renew in the minds of the churches in areas of rapid social change the Biblical mandate for Christian responsibility to society, to provide them with procedural suggestions, and to support and encourage local plans wherever possible. But the most significant results of this comprehensive international study will not find their way into statistics and reports that for some people will be the tangible deposit by which this effort will be judged. A far more important result will be the countless individuals and perhaps the church organizations for whom the social responsibility of Christianity becomes so closely identified with the life of faith that in obedience they adapt themselves to serve this imperative.

*William E. Leshner*

# FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

## *Hungary*

### **Evangelization in the Hungarian Lutheran Church**

Evangelization in Hungarian Protestantism was set in motion through influences from outside the country. Hungarian ministers who visited Germany, England and Finland were impressed by the awakening in these countries and brought it with them when they returned. The German and English awakening had the greater effect within the Reformed church, whereas the Finnish awakening had the greater effect within the Lutheran church. This explains the fact that while the awakening in the two churches is externally the same, the direction taken became different. The effect of the German and English movements can be seen in the formation of societies, associations and free churches, whereas the Finnish movement had its particularity precisely in the fact that it remained within the church and worked hand in hand with the pastors and leaders of the church. The Reformed awakening was led by the Bethany Society, which had only a loose connection to the church and which, like others of the movement, was primarily concerned about maintaining connections with the Evangelical Alliance. Evangelization in the Lutheran church, however, proceeded in close connection with the church, without attempting to establish organizations of its own. Thus it became not only a movement of the church, but one directly related to the clergy, a movement which, through the pastors, became a blessing for the congregations. Evangelization in the Reformed church was rather more an organizational and folk movement; the majority of its leaders were laymen and only through them did it then extend to the clergy.

Our church has always been thankful that the awakening came through the church and the pastors so that tensions and friction, which have everywhere arisen in the course of history between such movements and the church, have developed to a very insignificant degree.

On the other hand, however, evangelization has become a very definite characteristic of our church's development. Since it began the church regularly held evangelization retreats for the pastors at which they would be together for at least four days, listening to the Word of God and in prayer. Such retreats were held in various districts of the country so that all the pastors had an opportunity to participate. In addition there were two or three evangelization retreats for pastors' wives each year, in the same framework and with the same purpose. And finally similar retreats of more than one day took place for the presbyters who were supposed to cooperate with the pastors and other ministers. For other members of the congregations there were, for the most part in the summer months, retreats of one week arranged according to sex and age for children, youth, students, women and men. These conferences were held in six different conference centers: in Gyenediás in Balaton, Fót near Budapest, Piliscsaba in the Phoebe Deaconess Motherhouse, Répcelak in North Transdanubia, Szák in the Komitat Komárom and Szilvásvár in the Komitat Borsod.

Evangelization in the congregations took place for the most part also for a period of a week, in the autumn, winter and spring months. They consisted of common morning and evening services, family visitation, services in the homes (in connection with visitation), visitation of the aged and sick and gatherings of people of different age groups. Then at the close of such a week of congregational evangelization, the special leaders of the evangelization met for subsequent consultation with those who seriously desired to be Christians.

The work of evangelization in the Lutheran church always had a special eye open for the church press. A special paper entitled *Elő viz* (living water) was published along with an evangelization calendar, or almanac, which contained in particular information on the various missionary undertakings. With regard to articles for the paper it was the practice for the authors



not to sign their names so as not to influence the weight of what was said by means of mentioning persons. The paper, with special issues and excellent illustrations, always enjoyed very good circulation. Articles, talks and other material of an evangelistic nature were published in a separate magazine.

Since the movement grew very strong, some pastors began to serve full time in it. Three pastors in particular organized the evangelization and edited the press service. In choosing them the decisive question was whether they had a special charism for this work. It was an essential part of their work to give pastoral counsel subsequent to the evangelization campaigns which took place in the congregations. The financing of the work of evangelization was borne by those who had been affected by it. During the evangelization in every congregation an offering was taken for the work of inner missions as well as one for foreign missions.

Since 1952 the work of evangelization has been subject to particular limitations. Those working in it full time were forced by the church authorities into congregational pastorates. The inner mission home in Gyenesdiás was turned into a home for retired pastors. The mission institution in Répcelak and the Phoebe Deaconess Motherhouse were closed in 1950. Only in Fót did there continue to be an inner mission home, whose work, however, was limited to the training of lay cantors and the occasional holding of "silent Sundays"; for the rest it served for the further training of pastors. Evangelization in the congregations could only be carried out with the approval of the bishop, which was seldom given to those who had carried on the work before. Even the term was given up and replaced by the term "preaching series".

In the process of cleansing which the church has begun since the summer of 1956, the former leaders of the church even gave permission for a series of conferences and evangelization campaigns, to which, however, the state did not give its consent. Thus, today, we are at the threshold of a new beginning with but very small resources. Here and there, however, there is already an occasional congregational evangelization, and we hope that as a next step

evangelization retreats for pastors and pastors' wives can be taken up again.

Zoltán Turóczy

## France

### The Taizé Community

Since the turn of the century the Protestant church, whether Lutheran or Reformed in character, has become involved in a constant process of development. Whereas in the previous century there was in general a tendency toward destruction of forms of worship and construction of social institutions, since the appearance of the works of Smend and Spitta there has been in evidence a slow, hesitant growth of the structure of the worship service. The Barthian concern with "What is biblical preaching?" has furthered more and more the demand for giving new structure to the church. The shattering of the idea of immanent progress by the first world war and the disruption of the old forms of society gave impetus to the courage to try out new forms in the life of the church. Thus within the Reformed church there has arisen a community of men called the "Communauté de Taizé". As far as the public was concerned it seemed perhaps abrupt and unexpected, but it had long been prayed and hoped for and was actually long in preparation.

In 1947 I read in the journal *Réformé* a long article on the "Communauté de Taizé". In addition I had already seen several publications on the subject (e. g. *Joie du Ciel sur la Terre*, by Max Thurian). Being interested, I wrote to the Community and asked for permission to visit them. By return mail came the answer that they were prepared to allow a fellow pastor and myself to participate for a few days in their ordered spiritual life in community. So we set out.

The little village of Taizé lies about five miles from Cluny, an ancient little town with its important former Benedictine abbey. The village itself lies on a small ridge of the Maconnais hills, with reddish limestone soil that produces very good wine. The village, like many another out-of-the-way place,



presented a crumbling and desolate appearance. Only a few houses were still inhabited. The Community had established itself in an old country manor, to which belongs an extensive piece of land, mostly cultivated by the brothers themselves. The manor itself commands a glorious view of the Grosne valley.

The first external impression, however, was not very pleasant. The desolate little village, the neglected manor, was all such as hardly to inspire confidence. In contrast our welcome was very warm and it did not allow any kind of uneasiness to develop on our part. We were immediately *in medias res*, i. e. in Christ, and therefore brothers through him.

Soon supper was served and we ate with the brothers at one table in the same quiet and relaxing way. We were drawn into the brothers' liturgical life and were able to take part in all their affairs, except the morning conversation which the brothers conduct among themselves. The hours were sung in the "loft"; a temporary room for prayer was furnished in the granary. Between the times for prayer the brothers went about their respective work.

Some years later I came to Taizé again. Now quite a different picture presented itself. At the time of my first visit I walked from Cluny to Taizé; now the rail-bus stopped down in the village. The road and the path to the village and the manor were paved. A whole group of newly renovated houses presented a cheerful appearance. On one of them could be seen a doctor's plate; another was a potter's workshop. Once again I was kindly received in the manor house; but then a brother accompanied me to the "guest house", the former Catholic rectory. The hours were now sung in the village church, which the diocese had placed at the disposal of the brothers. The number of brothers present had greatly increased, and each of them practiced his calling. One of them is the district doctor, another an artist, another a potter (in Cluny there is a clay which is particularly suitable for firing), one administers a parish; others again cultivate the land, one is a theologian, one works in the coal mines. The fields no longer lay fallow, and the clatter of agricultural machinery was to be heard.

From what the brothers have said, they constantly receive innumerable visitors, who find their way to Taizé partly out of

human curiosity, partly out of theological interest, partly for spiritual reasons.

There is no doubt that within a few years the Community has developed into a factor which cannot be overlooked in the spiritual life of the Reformed church, in Protestantism in general as well as in the ecumenical world. But it is not the historical evolution of the Community, but what its spiritual and biblical bases are, which is to be sketched here.

The rule of the brothers in its full form appeared and was made accessible to the general public only in 1954. It does not represent something already in existence when the Community was started, any more than does the rule of the *Michaelisbruderschaft*, but it took form over long years of spiritual experience. At the very beginning, however, there were a few short, terse sentences which already contained the kernel of what was to develop later. "Ora et labora ut regnet. Que dans ta journée labeur et repos soient vivifiés par la Parole de Dieu. Maintiens en tout le silence intérieur pour demeurer en Christ. Pénètre-toi de l'Esprit des Béatitudes. Joie—simplicité—miséricorde." In English: "Pray and work, that he may reign. May work and repose in the course of the day be animated by the Word of God. In everything preserve inner silence, that you may remain in Christ. Fill yourself with the spirit of the Beatitudes: joy, simplicity, mercy."

In a book entitled *Introduction à la Vie Communautaire* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1944), the Prior of the Community, Roger Schütz, has described the bases of a life in community within the church, so that we recognize the motives which led to the formation of the brotherhood. In *Joie du Ciel sur la Terre* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé), the theologian of the Community, Max Thurian, gives a picture of the service of worship. He likewise published the book *La Confession*, which has caused such a stir in traditional Protestantism. In the periodical *Verbum Caro* there are numerous articles by the Taizé brothers; of these we may mention the two by Roger Schütz, in No. 33: "Naissance de communautés dans les Eglises de la Réforme", and in No. 41: "Pour un bon oecuménisme", which was previously published in *Unitas*. Various articles on Taizé have appeared in the periodical *Quatember*. In No. 2/1955 was published a report on "Retraite und



Meditation in Taizé", by Brother François Stoop, and in No. 4/1955 one on the rule of the brothers.

This material reflects the various concerns of the Community and expresses its will to exist both in the church and in the world. It is conscious of itself as a sign of God in the world, with a definite task in the church. It does not regard its structure and form as absolute. But as a member of the church of Jesus Christ it must be a clear sign of the call of God and of its membership in the Body of Christ. Because the Gospel is absolute in character and transcendent in its nature, "community" must exist. Certain biblical demands are not, and cannot be, carried out by what is usually meant by a parish. But they must not be abandoned or pushed to one side. The Community must break with the conformism of the world, because it already belongs to another world. Whereas the congregation as a parish has its importance by incarnating the Gospel in the state, the family and marriage, the Community has another area of responsibility in relation to the common possession of goods, obedience, celibacy and worship. True, one cannot set up an absolute distinction between congregation and the Community, because they overlap; but it is a matter of two different centers around which the respective tasks are grouped.

The Community is an answer to modern mass society, which knows neither community nor individual. In its form of life the Community overcomes symbolically the crisis from which apparently there is no way out.

The daily worship, in its coordination with the natural course of the day, combined with the brother's private prayer in his own room, is the answer to the Protestant world, whose worship and prayer are caught on the downhill slide of disintegration. "The practice of daily prayer has its place in the communion of saints, it is above all the prayer of the church." To the same degree as common praise and thanks are rendered, the Taizé brother practices silence and listens to the Word of God.

The praying brother is oriented in the same way toward his work. "In order that your prayer may be real, you must take trouble over your work. If you continually indulge in trifling pastimes, you are incapable of real intercession. Your prayer will

become right when it flows together with your work."

The practice of transparency, of retreat and private confession, contributes to the formation of a new type of person in contrast to the modern man, who is so depleted and lifeless, cramped and bottled-up. In Taizé much pastoral work is done. The brothers are expected to become transparent to one another, something which is expressed in mutual sharing of thoughts and burdens. The guest as he arrives is gladly taken along with the brothers to the sacrifice of praise of the worship service. But even more the desire is that he should receive the blessing of retreat. In the quietness of a room in the guest-house he has the leisure to read the Bible, to meditate. He can share the services of worship as well as the meals with the brothers. He can converse with a brother who is assigned to him, receive advice and direction and, if he expresses a desire for it, confess privately and receive absolution. The guest will generally leave the quiet retreat as a man comforted, joyful and refreshed. Thus this activity, too, is an answer to the world's need and a contribution to the fulfillment of a commission which the church as a congregation can fulfill often only in an imperfect way.

From the very beginning the brothers have participated in abundant measure in the ecumenical conversation. Just the fact of their existence implies a question directed at the various denominations, a challenge to a re-examination of old standpoints. The brothers have clearly attempted to seek out the motives of the various divisions and to think them through afresh. From the standpoint of Reformed theology, by means of broad biblical research and exegesis which is examined in the light of the theology of the church fathers, they desire faithfully to obey Christ's will "that they all may be one".

Max Thurian has provided a special contribution to ecumenical understanding in the book *Joie du Ciel sur la Terre*. In regard to the doctrine of the sacrament he proposes the new concept of "transrelation". This is intended to express the real presence in a modern and more valid way and to replace the term "transsubstantiation", which was a product of its time, but not its essential intentions.



In order that the Community can be a genuine symbol and of real value, the threefold vow of obedience, celibacy and common possession of goods is demanded. In the spirit of the Taizé brothers the three vows express the fact that they place themselves at God's disposal.

Obedience is a necessity, even from a purely practical point of view. "Without unity of spirit there is no hope of an audacious and complete devotion in the service of Jesus Christ. Individualism breaks up the brotherhood and obstructs it in its way."

But obedience presupposes also authority. The Prior of the Community has his authority from the Word of God. "The Lord of the church incarnates the Word in that he passes it on through the mouths of men; to this end he designates the spiritual leader, endows him with the necessary gifts ..." "Authority is not human constraint ..." The spiritual adviser knows that his authority is real under the condition that he is only the instrument of God." (*La vie communautaire*, p. 38). "In the guiding of a soul he takes care not to subject it but to incorporate it into the Body of Christ."

Celibacy is not intended to be a constraint, but a joyful sacrifice in order to love Christ and the brothers more. It is exercised much less for the practical reasons that it facilitates the life of the fraternal community and allows more effective arrangement of leadership and private confession, but on the contrary much more because it is the consequence of a clearly recognized vocation and corresponds to one way of being faithful to the Gospel. Celibacy is also an eschatological sign. It bears witness to the fact that we are living in the last days and are entering the realm where there shall be no more marrying nor giving in marriage.

The common possession of goods and personal poverty go hand in hand. Poverty is the sign of complete and devoted commitment ("engagement"). The brothers know how difficult it is to detach oneself from the little things, and they know that poverty is no virtue in itself. But they are particularly conscious that the spirit of poverty is indissolubly bound up with the Gospel. It is in accordance with the Gospel and with the spirit of true poverty that one should cease to have concern for the morrow and should have the certainty that God

will be concerned. "The spirit of poverty is living in the joyousness of the present." Experience has taught the brothers that community of material goods is much easier than that of spiritual gifts. Sharing is a task which is daily to be exercised anew.

The brothers make their vows in a solemn ceremony. There they receive a ring and also the blessing through the laying on of hands. They give each other the kiss of peace. Their tie to the Community is life-long.

The strength to take on such an obligation comes from a brother's express consciousness of his vocation. In the writings of the Community the emphasis is expressly on such vocation. The way is thus blocked for all superficial generalizations to the effect that everyone should enter this state. It is not a matter of a better state, nor is it expected that all Christians should enter upon a life in community. The Body of Christ manifests itself in this present aeon in a diversity of gifts and vocations. Every vocation, whether to celibacy or to poverty or to marriage or to obedience, has an absolute quality about it, to the degree that we desire to become more obedient to the Lord and more loving toward our brethren.

The person standing outside is inclined to imagine the life of a brother, determined by the threefold vow, as a long series of gloomy days. Not in the least! One seldom meets people living in more joy and simplicity than they. Their prayer is joyful both in praise and in extempore intercession, which is unencumbered by the languishing sighs characteristic of so many Christians. They are joyful in their work. Their faces are clear and radiant in their uninhibited contact with people. Such joy has its origin in a man's being gripped by divine grace. In the final analysis it is constant gratitude.

The formation of the Taizé Community caused a great stir in the Protestant world. Repudiation and approval were about equally balanced. Both are very often of an emotional character. Repudiation springs from an inertia which is reluctant to give up old and familiar ways of thinking. Approval is in many cases only pleasure at something new.

Measured by the ideas of Luther and the Lutheran fathers, Taizé represents an innovation which has hitherto been condemned. It would appear that precisely the making of vows is an adopting of erroneous



Roman doctrines which are to be condemned. And yet as far as I know, Luther's rejection of monastic vows is at bottom directed against the justification by works connected with them and against action without faith, which would amount to an absolutization of the vows. Luther is wholly right in regarding such vows as null and void, even as godless (see on this point: *Bedenken und Unterricht von den Klöstern und allen geistlichen Gelübden*, 1522).

It will be difficult to make this reproach against Taizé. Neither in its writings nor in the practical formation of its life can it be pointed out that man occupies the central place. Rather one is inclined to point to a definite theology of vocation and to a concept of the church learned from the church fathers. Again, both rest ultimately on a principle of Scripture which has been taken really seriously. What Taizé has undertaken is strangely close to the writings of Wilhelm Löhe, *Katechismus des apostolischen Lebens* and *Vorschlag zur Vereinigung lutherischer Christen zu apostolischem Leben*. Neither of these writings found any concrete application, since the church at that time was living in tradition even more than it is today. If Luther says, "Das Wort muß es tun" ["The Word must do it"], then this is the case in regard to the Community. We still read Scripture too much in accordance with a particular pattern and expound it according to the same pattern. Taizé rejects this pattern. Bishop Anders Nygren demanded at the LWF Assembly in Hannover that it is our responsibility to rethink the Gospel, "the one and only Gospel, the whole Gospel; to study it anew, possibly from a new point of approach, and to express it in the terms of today". He explained then in detail how this has to take place with the Gospel of John as a starting point. Taizé lives out this same concern and takes seriously, for example, Christ's conversation with the rich young man, the question of marriage and celibacy (Matt. 19:4-11) or the message of I Corinthians 12. To be honest, one cannot deny the brothers this right and one must allow them to give an exposition not only in intellectual terms but also in living obedience. Their exposition is in accordance with the Scripture insofar as it is in harmony with the whole message of the Bible; the Community seeks nothing other than to build upon the one foundation, Jesus Christ,

according to the vocation which it has received.

The same warning which applies to all churches, to all forms of service, applies also to the Community: "But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon" (I Cor. 3:10).

Jean Guerrier

## Poland

### Polish Evangelicalism

#### In Answer to O. Krenz

Evangelical minorities in Catholic countries are of two kinds: on the one hand those who because of their faith had to flee their home countries, their houses and farms, and who sought a new home in a strange country, such as the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, the Austrians and Silesians who fled before the Hapsburg persecutions, the Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (not, as Krenz maintains in LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 387, after Bartholomew's Eve, for subsequently to this they carried on a fierce war against the French king), the Salzburgers and finally the Protestants from Zillertal; and on the other hand those who migrated to a different country for economic reasons, such as the Transylvanian Germans, the Volga Germans, the German Lutherans in North America and many other groups.

These groups also adopted different attitudes toward their new linguistic and cultural environment. Some gradually were incorporated into the language and the *Volkstum* of their new homeland, like the Huguenots and the anglicized Lutherans; the others maintained their *Volkstum* and their language through the centuries, like the Transylvanian and Volga Germans. But none of these religious or folk groups ever had the intention of taking on or being absorbed in the new *Volkstum* in order to do evangelistic work, in order like leaven to transform the great mass of those of another faith. Those who could have been the first to have had such intentions were those who had been persecuted for their faith, those whose Christianity had been sifted, those who not only sang



Luther's words "Take they then our life, goods, fame, child and wife" but also translated them into deed. Far less capable of this were those emigrants who were not martyrs, but who continued to live in their traditional Protestant Christianity. The apostle Paul was also far from giving up his *Volkstum*. Even though he was a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks, he nevertheless held fast to his *Volkstum*, so that he was able to say: "I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race", and even in Rome, despite every kind of disappointment and persecution, he went to the synagogue in order to win his fellow Jews for Christ. He also became as weak to the weak (I Cor. 9:22); did he therefore give up his strength?

The idea that a Protestant diaspora church has a missionary task in the midst of a foreign Catholic people and that for this reason it must adopt this foreign *Volkstum* in order to be effective in it as the light and salt of the Gospel emerged only in the second half of the nineteenth century through Leopold Otto, whose activity is described on page 387 ff. of LUTHERAN WORLD (Vol. III, No. 4). He was active in the Lutheran congregation in Warsaw, of which three-quarters of the members were German-speaking and one quarter Polish-speaking. In spite of his German origin he professed himself a Pole, and in his sermons and his paper *Zwiastun* (The Preacher) he tirelessly impressed upon his listeners that they were to be salt and light for the Polish people. Because of this they must not remain a foreign element in the Polish nation. Only then would the insurmountable wall be broken through which had hitherto separated the Polish people from the Gospel of the Reformation because of their equation of being Lutheran with being German.

In fact many Lutherans in Warsaw and other towns—but not in the village colonies—gradually went over to the use of the Polish language. Most of them had no particular national feeling, but many on the other hand became convinced Poles. The wall of partition was broken down. But the consequence was not a growing susceptibility of the Poles for the Gospel which was now no longer presented to them in German garb but in the Polish language;

it was rather an increase in mixed marriages, which gradually rose to three-quarters of all marriages (in Warsaw). Even Otto (the 75th anniversary of whose death falls this year) had to experience this to his sorrow, and his successors did so to a much greater degree. Julius Bursche, who revived the paper *Zwiastun* which had ceased at Otto's death, complained as early as 1910 of the decimation of the congregations which had been brought about by the fact that the children were being brought up as Catholics. The congregation was able to hold its own statistically only by constant migration of people from the country. Indeed, while General Superintendent he had to see his own son marry a Catholic, and Glass, the President of the Consistory, even had to see his son become Catholic.

Even in the church council of the Warsaw congregation of the Augsburg Confession (the name "Lutheran" was not used, because "luter" is a term of abuse in Poland) most of the members had contracted mixed marriages, and in 1910 a proposal that those men who had all their children brought up as Catholics should no longer be eligible for election was rejected as a "slap in the face to our Catholic brethren". In reality, if this proposal had been adopted, too many highly respected citizens would have been obliged to withdraw from the Protestant congregation.—There was only one Polish Protestant congregation which exercised a great attraction for Catholics between the two wars; that was the Reformed congregation in Wilna, which numbered only 800 souls. It took into its bosom annually a few dozen Polish Catholics—some of whom came from considerable distances—because they wanted to be divorced and remarried, which was not possible for them as Catholics. Even the celebrated dictator Joseph Pilsudski went over to the Lutherans in his youth for this reason, though he never made use of his Lutheran confession subsequently; to be sure, at the consultation on the constitution of the state he succeeded in having the clause altered which stipulated that the president had to be a Catholic. It was now stated that he had to be a Christian, and the murmuring bishops were thereby silenced, since in fact according to their own opinion only a Catholic could be a real Christian.



The Polish Lutherans have never so much as made the attempt to translate theoretical evangelicalism into action. At the most the Baptists did so here and there among the Catholics. When, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in Russian Poland, a non-Roman Catholic tendency emerged—the Mariavites, expelled by the Pope in 1906, who joined up with the Old Catholics—the Polish Lutherans did not enter into any sort of relationship with this movement which was drawing near to the Evangelical faith.

It is strange that the doctrine of the assimilation of the German Lutherans in the Polish nation for the purpose of evangelization is represented not by native Poles but by polonized Germans. There is a psychological explanation for this: when a German gradually becomes a Pole as a result of the influences of environment, there develops within him a growing feeling of guilt of which he himself is not aware, but which is suppressed into the subconscious, a feeling that he has been deprived of one of his greatest spiritual possessions. This unconscious feeling drives him to seek a justification for this, and he finds this justification in the feeling that he has made this sacrifice for an exalted aim, the offering of the Gospel of the Reformation to the Polish people. True, his reason shows him that he is not attaining his aim, but that rather he is only doing damage to his church, but an unconscious feeling conjures up this illusion before him as an aim which can be realized, if not now, then at some later time after a difficult period of transition.

In the same way it can be explained why polonized Germans become more nationalistic than native Poles. On the one hand they become indignant that being German and being Protestant are always represented on the part of the Germans as an indivisible unity. The fact that Krenz casts this reproach upon the German population is in so far misleading that such an assertion is impossible in view of the fact that a third of the German people are Catholic. In another place he himself admits that the equation of Polish and Catholic was implanted into the Polish people only after centuries of Jesuit education. That had become so much a matter of course that one of the few Reformed Polish aristocratic families still remaining in the province of

Posen in the nineteenth century decided to bring their children up as Catholics, so that they should not be exposed to the constant division between religion and *Volkstum* under which the parents had suffered all their lives. The reverse equation of Lutheran and German is of course only a consequence drawn by the Poles from the above equation, never an assertion made by the Germans, with which Krenz on page 409 wrongly reproaches me, who preached every Sunday for 28 years in Polish and German, so that any judge might credit me with knowing the right spelling of Polish place-names, though Krenz disputes this without citing any examples.

The equation Polish = Catholic is so deeply rooted that the Catholic Poles have never recognized the Polish-speaking Protestants as Poles, but have called them "Niemcy", even when they knew no word of German. These Polish-speaking Protestants were represented by three large racial groups: 1. by the Protestant Masurians, 97 % of whom professed themselves Germans at the plebiscite in 1920 and for that reason could not be ceded to the new Poland; 2. by the Polish-speaking groups in Silesia, who since about 1240—constitutionally since 1341—had no longer belonged to the Polish realm, and of whom some migrated into the province of Posen; 3. by the Schlonsaks in the Austrian part of Silesia, who never belonged to Poland and held together with the Protestant Germans rather than with the Catholic Galicians. These Polish-speaking Protestants—who are to be distinguished from the Protestant Poles—were for the most part obliged to flee from their homes in Posen and Silesia in 1945. Those who, confident in their mastery of the Polish language, remained behind, have not been recognized as Poles. Their houses and farms were taken from them, and if they remained on the property which had hitherto been theirs, it was only as servants of the new owners brought from beyond the Bug river.

Krenz reproaches the Posen Evangelicals with confusing *Volkstum* and Gospel; only under Polish rule, he claims, were they converted to the pure proclamation of the Gospel. But in the same number he extols Leopold Otto (p. 387)—who had nevertheless sworn the oath of loyalty to the Czar—for taking part in the preparation



for the uprising of January 1863 and gathering the leading men and women of Polish society together in the crypt of the Lutheran church (!). In doing so Krenz does not mention the unutterable misery which came upon the Polish people through the fault of Otto: the suppression of the last remnants of autonomy, the deportation to Siberia or the execution of thousands of monks, priests and citizens, the uprooting of whole Polish villages and their banishment to the bitterness of fates; indeed, even many of the Protestants of his own church fled as settlers to distant Wolhynia, because they had not taken part in the uprising and for that reason were threatened with death by their Catholic neighbors. Nor does Krenz mention that Otto escaped death at the hands of the executioner only through the intercession of Marquis Wielopolski, and that it was only through the intervention of a few highly-placed persons that he was able to return to Warsaw after some years of exile.

The one who chiefly perpetuated the ivory tower idea of Polish Evangelicalism and the mixing of religion and politics was the General Superintendent of Warsaw, Julius Bursche. He made a sorry memorial for himself with his appeal to the Masurians in 1920, in which he warned them against the wicked Germans, extolled to them the freedom of conscience in Poland and praised the inexhaustible riches in the treasures of the earth in Poland, in which they would have a part in the future, instead of being slaves exploited by the Germans.—For this unsuccessful undertaking he was unable to acquire a medal, but he did receive one for his work in 1919 at Versailles, where it was made possible by means of falsified statistics to transfer a few little pieces of Silesia to Poland. Bursche's nationalistic church politics was crowned in 1936 with the church law which subjected the Lutheran church to rule by the state. According to this any pastor with German sympathies could be removed from office by the governor of the district. The church constitution was adopted by a "synod" in which the German Lutherans, who comprised four-fifths of the church members, were not represented at all. Only the war which broke out soon afterwards checked the division and complete disruption of the church.

It may be an unwelcome fact to Krenz, who is now a Pole, that the German Lutheran citizens distinguished themselves as over against the Poles through their industriousness, etc., but it is an undeniable fact which is stressed not by me, but by the Polish Catholic historian Joseph Lukaszewicz; and it will be corroborated by anyone who has known the Silesian towns in earlier times and compares the way they were then with the way they are now.

It is almost terrifying that a Lutheran should speak with a certain malicious glee of the "pitiable end" to which another Lutheran church has come. The Evangelical church of Posen is still in existence insofar as its members have not been murdered by Russians and Poles. It exists, even if in scattered form, all over Germany. Its members do not presume to be salt and light in their new home; they do, however, make use of the dreadful afflictions of recent years for the inner purification and confirmation of their faith. That is no end, but the beginning of a new life and a responsibility for future generations.

The term "pitiable end" can be applied to all Lutherans from the Volga to the Elbe, the Polish ones not excepted, who have lost four-fifths of their church members through dispersion. If they must now carry on a desperate struggle against atheistic materialism in bolshevik Poland, if in this struggle they need the sympathy and the support of world Protestantism—and not least of the Germans—then they should avoid using double standards: what the German does is oppression; in the case of the Pole it is called national policy—, nor should they throw stones at a neighbor church, nor allow those to come forward as their spokesmen who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing and who do not fit into the new era when antitheses should be done away with and there should be understanding among the nations.

Arthur Rhode

## Canada

### The Future of Lutheranism in Canada

Since the future is, to some extent at least, an extension of the present, it will be



necessary to look at the state of Lutheranism in Canada today before projection into the future can take place.

To begin with, the Lutheran church in Canada is a "minority" church. According to 1951 statistics the following percentages in relationship to the total population may be given:

Roman Catholic	— 43.3 %
United Church	— 20.5 %
Anglican	— 14.7 %
Presbyterian	— 5.6 %
Baptist	— 3.7 %
Lutheran	— 3.2 %

This latter would indicate that in 1951, out of a total population of 14,009,429 there were 444,923 Lutherans. Although these Lutherans are scattered throughout all of Canada's ten provinces, the percentage of Lutherans ranges from a high of 11 % in Saskatchewan to a low of .06 % in Newfoundland. Since Canada with its almost four million square miles is the second largest country in the world, and since it extends for more than 4,000 miles from coast to coast, it may be readily understood that its Lutherans will in many instances be quite remote from each other.

Many of these Lutherans have quite a period of history and tradition behind them. Those of Nova Scotia date back 200 years, when German colonists settled in the County of Lunenburg. To these in Nova Scotia, and also in Ontario, were added "United Empire Loyalists"—largely Germans who, in the American Revolutionary War, remained loyal to the British Crown and who, following the victory of the Revolutionaries, migrated to Canada.

In the mid 1900's heavy German immigration brought thousands of Lutherans to Ontario, and after the turn of the century, German, Scandinavian, and other Lutherans established themselves in the newly opened lands of the West. In recent years Lutheran immigration has been heavy and general throughout Canada, although southern Ontario, Montreal, and the west coast have been particularly attractive.

Lutheran churches in Canada, in short, are spread throughout the entire populated area of the country, are of various national backgrounds, and have histories which in some cases are long, in others, very short. Almost all of them, however, from the standpoint of customs and of language used in worship have traveled completely or al-

most so along the road of transition to the Canadian scene, although some congregations, particularly in the large cities, are devised specifically to meet the needs of the newcomer.

Lutherans in Canada, both old and new, feel themselves to be a part of the country in which they live. Yet it must be pointed out in very significant fashion that there is as yet no "Lutheran Church in Canada". Lutheran congregations in Canada are members of Synods, Districts, or Conferences, which form part of the larger Lutheran bodies of the United States. Thus, for example, the United Lutheran Church in America has a Canadian membership of 87,000; the Missouri Synod, 70,000; the American Lutheran Church, 27,000; the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 22,000; the Augustana Lutheran Church, 7,500; the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, 3,000; the Lutheran Free Church, 800. This means that the activity of the Canadian churches is guided by the total church bodies, by far the larger membership of which is resident in the United States. Sunday School literature, for example, is imported from the United States. Young people's organizations form a section of their much larger American counterpart—the same is true of other men's and women's organizations, and of various programs such as that of stewardship and evangelism. In short, the Canadian Lutheran churches may be looked upon as American Lutheran churches "in miniature". The lines which extend from south to north between the parent church bodies of the U. S. A. and the several churches of Canada are the "vertical" lines of which we sometimes hear.

The fact that the Lutheran churches in Canada find their membership in the general bodies with U. S. A. headquarters makes these general church bodies "international" in character. Thus, while the U.L.C.A., the American Lutheran Church, etc., are member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, their delegates represent neither the U. S. A. alone nor Canada alone, but both together. Of course, in order to expedite such matters as the gathering of funds for Lutheran World Action, there are two separate "National Committees of the Lutheran World Federation"—one for the U. S. A. and one for Canada. There are also two general agencies for common activity, the National Lutheran Council for the U.S.A., and



the Canadian Lutheran Council for Canada.

Until rather recent years there were few horizontal lines which connected Lutheran to Lutheran in Canada. Geographic reasons played an important part in this. Lutherans of the Eastern province of Nova Scotia were separated from their brethren of Ontario by a distance of over 1,000 miles. Those of Ontario, in turn, found that some 800 miles separated them from those of the prairies of the West. Lutherans of the west coast found that the formidable wall of the Rocky Mountains served as a barrier between them and Lutherans of the rest of Canada. In all cases, however, there was comparative proximity and ease of access to Lutherans "south of the border".

Other factors also played an important part, particularly in Western Canada where all church bodies overlap territorially. Different national backgrounds with attendant variety of languages and customs, a "competitive" spirit, and preoccupation with the "vertical" lines, tended to isolate Lutherans from each other.

Within the last generation a very significant change has taken place. The general use of the English language in services, broadening outlook, needs to be met which are distinctively Canadian, coupled with other factors, tend to bring into clear vision the picture of one indigenous Lutheran church in Canada. In the years immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II an event of great significance took place. In Saskatoon, a city of Western Canada, the United Lutheran Church in America invited other Lutherans to cooperate with it at its seminary there. This invitation was immediately accepted by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and shortly thereafter by the American Lutheran Church and the Augustana Lutheran Church. Other Lutherans also made use of these joint facilities, so that throughout the years young men from various Lutheran churches were trained together. One can imagine that those who established such close friendship throughout the period of their training would continue that friendship after they had left to serve in the various Lutheran churches.

The war years themselves drew Lutherans together. The Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Service was formed by various Lutherans to meet the needs of those in the armed forces. Canadian Lutheran World Relief, representative of all

Canadian Lutheranism, was established immediately after the war to carry out a program of physical relief and assist in the work of immigration. Lutherans began to ask: If we can work together in these several specific areas, why can we not work together in other areas as well? The answer was found in the establishment of the Canadian Lutheran Council in 1952. As an agency of all Lutherans in Canada except those of the Missouri Synod, it carries out its activities chiefly through the Division of Canadian Missions, Division of Welfare, Division of Student Service, Division of Public Relations, and the Division of War Service. This is today the recognized agency for Canadian Lutheranism, and serves at the same time as the National Committee for Canada of the Lutheran World Federation. Offices are located in Winnipeg, the geographic center of the country.

The next question immediately began to assert itself: If we can work together in these various ways, why can we not all be one? Why can there not be one indigenous Lutheran church in Canada? This question is perhaps inevitable in the light of the foregoing, and the coming into being of such an indigenous church represents, in a very general fashion, the future of Lutheranism in Canada.

Actually there are four Lutheran groups in Canada discussing merger at the present time, although only one of these is aimed directly at the formation of a church which will include all Canadian Lutherans. The first group concerns those who are involved in the proposed merger in 1960 of the American Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church. Members of the Canadian Districts of these churches are meeting to discuss the effects of this merger upon themselves, and are making plans to integrate their administration and work when they find themselves in this merger. For Canada, this would mean a new church body consisting of some 50,000 baptized members, nearly all of whom are to be found in Western Canada.

Another grouping of Canadian churches is resulting from the merger discussions in the U. S. A. between the United Lutheran Church in America, the Augustana Lutheran Church, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod). In Canada



this proposed merger, which might be consummated in 1961, would affect the United Lutheran Church in America and the Augustana Lutheran Church primarily. There are only a few congregations of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, and Finnish congregations have found their place in the constituent synods of the U. L. C. A. The effects of this merger would also be noticed particularly in Western Canada, where two synods of the U. L. C. A. and the Canada Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Church overlap. In Eastern Canada there would be no practical difference—with but several exceptions, all congregations in the eastern part of the country are members of either the United Lutheran Church in America or the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. However, in Western Ontario there extends a chain of Augustana congregations which would serve as a link to connect eastern and western churches. Thus there would be a fellowship which would extend from coast to coast in Canada.

These two mergers would result in reducing Lutheran groups in Canada to three:

- (a) The Canada District of The American Lutheran Church
- (b) The United Lutheran Church in America—Augustana
- (c) The Canadian Districts of the Missouri Synod

The Lutheran Free Church is presently not engaged in merger discussions, but it is probable that it too will find its place in one of these mergers.

In addition to the foregoing, the three Districts of the Missouri Synod are in the process of obtaining a charter which would give them, to a certain degree at least, the status of a separate church in Canada. It is expected that this charter will be received by July 1, 1958. This would not, for the present at least, affect their relationship with St. Louis, but if the Canadian group is able to maintain itself financially it would probably separate itself from the Missouri Synod and find its membership in the family of the Synodical Conference.

These proposed mergers noted above would tend to unite the Lutherans to a certain degree, but they would not bring into being an indigenous Canadian Lutheran church. Half a loaf may be better than none, but the incessant cry for a whole loaf is becoming louder and more insistent all the

time. The merged churches which will in all probability come into being within several years will offer only a partial fulfillment of the hopes of most Canadian Lutherans, and at best are looked upon as steps which should lead speedily and directly to the formation of an autonomous church having within it every unit of the Lutheran churches in Canada.

These hopes have often been expressed, and representative gatherings have been held from time to time to air views and discuss particular aspects of an all-Canadian merger. Perhaps the first such meeting of vital significance was held in Kitchener, Ontario, last December. Called by Dr. Karl Holfeld, President of the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church, and Chairman of the Canadian Lutheran Council, it was attended by representatives of every section of the Lutheran church in Canada with but one exception, although the latter was by no means opposed to the purpose of the gathering. At this meeting those present faced the question squarely: Do we really want a Lutheran church in Canada? Unanimous agreement was expressed to the effect that it was the intention of all present to strive toward the formation of one indigenous Lutheran church in Canada and all agreed to make preparation for a meeting in a year's time at which accredited delegates would be present and at which the work of devising a united and indigenous church would be seriously begun. Canadian Lutheranism is waiting almost with bated breath for this particular meeting.

The future of Canadian Lutheranism will depend, to a great extent at least, upon the outcome of this meeting. Here a pattern should be established so that it should become clear whether, within our generation, there will be a merger of all Lutherans in Canada, or of those of the Canadian Lutheran Council alone, or whether the most that can be hoped for will be the several "piecemeal" mergers referred to earlier.

The writer hopes that he is not too optimistic when he states that he feels that there will result a merger of at least Canadian Lutheran Council churches, and not even too optimistic to feel that Missouri too will continue to form part of the picture. To date all of Canadian Lutheranism has joined in discussion—it is certainly not impossible for all to continue until a completely united church materializes.



What will this church be like? Certainly it is still too early in the day to be able to describe details, or even in some cases to state generalities. However, the question has been asked, and an attempt will be made to provide an answer, with all the reservations usually provided for forecasting. This church, in which it is hoped all Canadian Lutherans will be found, will be a completely indigenous church, separated from its "parent bodies" in the U. S. A., but operating beside all of them as a "sister" church. It will in all probability seek membership in the Lutheran World Federation so that it may find its place in the family of world Lutheranism, and perhaps also in the World Council of Churches. It will endeavor to carry out all the various forms of Christian activity and service which are usually ascribed to churches. Its headquarters will perhaps be located in the City of Winnipeg, but for purposes of administration there may be four geographic areas—the Maritimes, Ontario—Quebec, Manitoba—Saskatchewan, and Alberta—British Columbia. Certainly whatever the pattern of the church may be, it will undoubtedly be one which will place great demands upon Canadian Lutherans, and should call forth a degree of leadership and service greater than anything experienced to date. It will present a challenge such as has heretofore been unknown—a necessary challenge if growth and development of Lutheranism is as it ought to be. Thus, the strong desire for such a church is not prompted basically by nationalism, pride, or even by detailed advantages, but rather by a desire for the overall development of the church. This church would be able to take its place, in a much more real sense, on the Canadian scene, and under God be able to proclaim a clear message to meet the specific needs and situations with which it is confronted. This is the vision and prayer of many. We hope it is well pleasing unto the Lord, and that it may seek to accomplish his will in our land.

*Earl J. Treusch*

## *The United States*

### **A New Direction in Student Work**

About a year ago a new set of initials appeared in American Lutheran student

work circles: D.C.U.W. The new name, Division of College and University Work of the National Lutheran Council, made passé the "Division of Student Service". DCUW is rather thrilling evidence that a new chapter in American Lutheran church life has begun. No longer do we see our role in the university world merely as one of "conserving" our Lutheran students for our church. The task is far greater: our mission is to witness to the total Gospel to the total university community.

A mighty task this is. The manpower of staff on the 1956-57 DCUW directory of pastors, counselors, interns and part-time assistants numbers 547 names. Of these, 59 are pastors, counselors (21 women and 1 man) and seminary interns giving all or a major part of their time to campus work. 19 are persons giving about half of their time. The remainder are parish pastors who, to a very limited extent, give attention to nearby campuses within the context of their total parish ministry.

Even 78 full and part-time workers is a considerable number, you say. Add to these 78 Lutherans all the rest of American Protestant campus workers and the total is probably more than the total in all the rest of the world put together. Yet, last fall in the United States more than two and a half million students over-ran 1800 campuses. This number of American students promises to double by 1970.

### **Word and Sacraments**

The task of the church through these campus workers is seen to be to bring the witness of the total Gospel to the total campus community. In recent years, DCUW (or under its old name, DSS) has attempted to do this by a ministry of the Word and Sacraments. Since much of our campus ministry has been established during the last two decades, bringing Word and Sacraments into the university world has run afoul of American Lutheran polity. Most of the campus pastors have no regularly constituted congregation. Has the campus pastor no right, then, to administer the Sacraments? Must he always clear such acts through a congregation one mile or twenty miles distant?

DCUW has now set up nearly a dozen "preaching points". At these campus centers, the pastor regularly holds Sunday



services but, at present, he cannot administer the Sacraments unless especially permitted by a nearby parish pastor or synodical official. We say, then, that our ministry is one of Word and Sacraments. In practice, the Sacraments have usually taken a second place.

All DCUW staff attempt to provide for as complete a ministry as possible for students, faculty and university administrative personnel. Five emphases describe the aspects of their campus ministry: 1) worship 2) teaching 3) counseling 4) fellowship and 5) evangelism.

Obviously, worship is at the heart of any campus witness. Yet, on huge metropolitan campuses (the largest has 37,000 students) where nearly all students and faculty commute, actual coming together for worship is very seldom. On campuses where housing is provided for students, weekday and Sunday services of worship are a focal point of the total ministry.

The teaching ministry must receive a heavy emphasis on all campuses. Bible study groups, program meetings, informal study groups on doctrine and contemporary problems are highly necessary. It seems that most students, yes, even Lutheran students, have hardly progressed from a Sunday School understanding of their own faith. Some universities offer courses in Christianity and religion in the curriculum. Where this does not occur, some DCUW personnel have set up "non-credit" courses in Bible, doctrine, ethics or church history. The "non-credit" signifies that these courses are not given university academic credit, but "course" is intended to mean that the calibre of the teaching measures up to the university academic level.

American universities, in contrast to European situations, usually have extensive counseling services for students. Our Lutheran campus workers find that an indispensable part of their ministry, too, is pastoral counseling.

The "fellowship" of the Christian community constitutes another important aspect of our campus work. Very often this fellowship is expressed in the local Lutheran student group, the LSA (Lutheran Student Association). Within the context of the LSA, students minister to each other, form study groups, come together for worship, enjoy parties and recreation, and also pre-

pare to carry out their concern for non-Christian fellow students.

Small beginnings have been made in bringing faculty together in fellowships of concern for the vocation of the teacher and the relevance of Christianity in particular academic disciplines. Similar preliminary work has been done among graduate students.

### The University a Mission Field

The fifth emphasis of DCUW is briefly stated, "evangelism". How well we should know that a church that is not a mission church is dead; likewise, a campus ministry that does not exist to "witness" is dead.

Along with the so-called "religious revival" and swelling church attendance in the States, the American university world is more open than ever to "religion". Campus church attendance is on the increase, that is true. Yet it is very apparent on the campus that much of this religious clamor is for an "undergirding" sort of religion: for a cosmic smile on our American way of life, for heavenly benediction on success and peaceful living, for peace of mind in a world of atom bombs and international crises. Frankly, the more perceptive students and faculty, Christian and non-Christian, are very suspicious of the "religious revival".

Nevertheless, more doors are open now than in many past decades. At the same time, the universities are full of "isms" and false gods. In one way or another our campus citizens are as prone as ever to make themselves God, to live as though man and his brain were the center of the universe.

The Lordship of Christ and his reconciliation of the world to himself is obviously not generally accepted on the campus. Many of our Protestant students and faculty seem to be only nominal Christians, and a prevalent attitude among them is that all religion is relative: all roads lead to God so why be concerned about whether people are Christian or not?

Some of us DCUW staff have been so busy "conserving" our Lutheran students that the larger task of training and challenging our students and faculty to be instruments of God's reconciliation never gets done. On campuses where existentialism has raised ultimate questions, our Lutheran groups don't know the meaning of existentialism. In technological schools where



science is seen to be incapable of establishing ultimate values, our Christians are told not to ask questions, just believe. In the highly socially conscious campuses where status is all important, our Christian students retreat from the competitive whirl and construct their own social cliques in the Christian ghettos on the edge of the campus.

But we can no longer afford the luxury of pious phrases in our own little groups safely apart from the turmoil and pain of the university community. We must learn that our job is to participate in the life of the academic community and share the Gospel message in all of its relevance in the classroom, in the dormitory, and on the football field as well as in the school newspaper.

In a few campus situations, DCUW staff are actively concerned with the foreign students on the campuses. During this school year 35,000 from other countries are studying in the United States. Probably one-third of these 35,000 are Christians, and many only nominally so. The campus ministry is a "foreign mission field" brought right here on our own doorsteps. Unfortunately, many of these foreign students are virtually ignored.

### Dialogue or Monologue?

How do we best make our witness in the university situation? Obviously to communicate means first to be committed to something oneself, then to be concerned with and to understand those people with whom we wish to communicate. We on the campus exist as an arm of the church and for the sake of the university world. Thus we cannot sit on the edge of the campus and hurl pronouncements at it. We Christians must come together under the Word and Sacraments; we must study and learn to articulate the Christian faith; then, strengthened, we must take up our places within the campus scene and listen as well as speak. Very often we really don't converse with the university or the people in it at all. Under no circumstances must we think that "we've got it" so "now take it". Sometimes we "pooh-pooh" the university's quest for truth rather than try to understand it. We must encourage our students and faculty (and ourselves!) to be challenged by the "isms" and false gods of the

university as well as by its concern for truth. Perhaps in this sort of dialogue we, too, can learn a thing or two.

### How Ecumenical Should We Be?

As DCUW staff we are just one group of campus workers among many denominational and YMCA and YWCA staff. Many campuses have as many as a dozen different and distinct Christian student groups. Often the only time we share a common task is in opposing the influence of the Roman Catholic or Jewish groups.

The highly fragmented United States Protestant picture is usually bewildering, if not disgusting, to a foreign visitor. Many university officials, often for lack of understanding, frankly laugh at the divisions within the church expressed on the campus.

DCUW staff are divided on an evaluation of our unique role as Lutherans on the campus. Some say that the best witness is made by being quite separate and making an "undiluted" Lutheran witness. Others are quite ready to wrestle with the prayer of Christ "that all may be one" and to take seriously the problem of a fragmented witness in the university world.

On very few campuses across the United States do the DCUW and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod staff personnel work together or even cooperate. By tacit agreement the two groups exist side by side as though they were two different denominations. By and large Missouri dislikes the ecumenical interest evidenced by many DCUW staff, and presumably, closer relations on the campus between Missouri and DCUW are hindered by the latter's dealings with other Protestants.

On a national basis the record of the Lutheran Student Association of America in ecumenical student affairs is quite good. Lutheran students and DCUW personnel have taken quite responsible roles in the United Student Christian Council, the United States section of the World's Student Christian Federation. Yet the involvement of local campus Lutheran groups and local DCUW staff in ecumenical expressions of the student Christian movement is very spotty.

Because of a new awareness of the "mission" of the church on the campus, a battle rages concerning local ecumenical work. Could more non-Christians and nominal



Christians be drawn into dialogue if student groups were not so fractured locally? Are our Lutheran students and faculty so muddled in their understanding of their Christian commitment that exposure to other Protestants would shake their Lutheran commitment? Is real conversation between Christians of many labels so dangerous that we must avoid it? Do we rationalize that since we can't really come together in the Lord's Supper we can't come together on any other significant level? Or are we just proud?

### **An Arm of the Lutheran Church**

Sometimes some DCUW staff and their respective campus groups venture far out onto the frontiers of the Lutheran church: into ecumenical ventures, into real dialogue with the university, and drawn together under Word and Sacraments in ways not exactly provided for by our present understanding of Lutheran polity. When involved in some venture, DCUW staff wonder if the parent churches would really back them up or not.

Most United States Lutheran church leaders today realize that our church must work in a vital way on all college and university campuses and not limit support only to Lutheran church colleges. Yet, DCUW's budget is only a small fraction of the amount spent on church colleges. DCUW's new \$ 1,750,000.00 student center program is rather small when compared to the tremendous expansion of United States colleges and universities. A single Lutheran college building now under construction is costing approximately as much as DCUW has allocated for forty-two campus projects.

From many quarters within the Lutheran church, the DCUW program is pressured for higher statistics, is pushed for more young people for church vocations. Time

and again DCUW pastors and counselors are accused of "undermining" students' faith, of taking students away from local churches, of competing with existing youth programs. Until we Lutherans become less afraid of asking questions and admitting our own doubts, work among university students and faculty will make little headway. Until we see that our church's responsibility in higher education involves supporting both church colleges and work among the eighty-five percent of our Lutheran youth at non-Lutheran schools, we shall not begin to bring the total Gospel into the total university community.

Nevertheless very few of the DCUW staff would change places with any other servant in the church. To work with students and teachers who are alive to the real issues of today, who ask the hard questions, and who experience the cost and the joy of discipleship—with these people life on the campus is thrilling. Most of us campus workers point with pride to Lutheran leaders in the world-wide ecumenical movement who received their early training within the student Christian movement. We gratefully depend upon the counsel and support of many Lutheran church leaders and theologians who give many "extra" hours for student and faculty conferences, in teaching "non-credit" courses and otherwise helping local programs.

This August, during the Lutheran World Federation meetings, the ninety DCUW local and national staff will come together in Minneapolis for their annual staff conference. One of the staff study groups for this week has been labelled "A Fresh Approach". Perhaps a report on American Lutheran student work (more correctly called "campus work") written in a year from now could be quite a new story!

*Ruth Engelbrecht*

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Tradition and Confession

Sir: The thought-provoking paper which Professor Pelikan wrote for the Theological Commission on Tradition and Traditions of the Commission on Faith and Order will certainly be discussed also outside that Commission, and we can only be thankful to LUTHERAN WORLD for having made it available in its December issue, 1956, to many readers. If I venture to make some remarks on it, this should not be understood as a negative criticism, but rather as a positive contribution to the debate. I am convinced that Dr. Pelikan himself, whom we all cherish and honor as an outstanding scholar in the field of Luther research in America and to whom all Lutherans in the English-speaking world owe a great debt of gratitude for his masterly edition of the exegetical works of Luther, will understand our questions in this way.

Space does not allow us here to enter into a discussion of Chemnitz's thorough investigation of the problem of tradition as presented by the Fourth Session of Trent in his great *Examen Concilii Tridentini*. We are only concerned with what Dr. Pelikan says about tradition in the Augsburg Confession. This seems all the more important since to most of the members of that Commission the text of the *Confessio Augustana* is inaccessible, a good English translation, which would do justice to the fact that in the case of this confession both the German and the Latin text are official and thus comment upon each other, not yet being available. Moreover, they are not able to realize that in the Lutheran church a confession of faith takes a place quite different from that which it occupies in the Eastern, Roman, Anglican and Reformed churches. It may be suspected that the emphasis placed by our Anglican and Reformed friends on "traditio", "paradosis" is, at least partly, due to what practically amounts to their abandonment of the confessions of the 16th century as binding upon the church. Is there perhaps also a connection between their rediscovery of tradition and the sudden rise within the

Protestant world of such "Catholic" ideas as "apostolic succession", the sacrificial character of the Eucharist and others which have been strongly opposed by the Reformers?

The idea of "paradosis" occurs in the New Testament in the first place in the sense of human traditions as held by the Jews or Jewish sects and rejected by our Lord (e. g. Matt. 15:3), as well as by St. Paul (Col. 2:8), in the second place in the sense of a doctrine or the message of the Gospel or words of our Lord such as the words of institution in the Lord's Supper which Paul has faithfully delivered to his congregations. If Paul uses in such cases the terms of the Rabbinic theology in which he had been educated (e. g. "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you" — I Cor. 11:23, cf. 15:1 ff.), this does not mean that he introduces the Jewish-pagan principle of tradition which we find in many oriental religions. He simply uses the terms to show that his message is a faithful proclamation of the Gospel.

One must not read into the New Testament the doctrine of "tradition" as distinct from the written word, which we find with the Fathers since the second century. The Gospel was oral proclamation before it was written. As written word it becomes oral word again in the faithful preaching of the Gospel, as Luther always emphasized ("verbum Dei praedicatum est verbum Dei"). On the mission field the Gospel is oral proclamation before it can be written and read. If some modern Anglicans try to convince us Lutherans that we are overestimating the Bible because after all the church made the canon and the Scriptures are essentially written tradition, we can only point out that this is rejected even by the Roman church, which at the Vatican Council has expressly declared that the Scriptures must be accepted because they have been written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and as such have been given to the church ("ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt", Denzinger 1787).

The fact that the New Testament contains no doctrine on a divine tradition



explains sufficiently why the Lutheran Confessions do not and cannot contain such a doctrine. "The rule is: The Word of God shall establish articles of faith, and no one else, not even an angel", as Luther puts it in the Smalcald Articles. The question, however, remains whether not the Confessions themselves must be interpreted in terms of a "tradition". Also this must be denied.

It is most significant for the Western church that after the Patristic period its theology does not speak much of "tradition", while the Eastern church builds its theology on the "holy tradition". The word *traditio* is to be found in the doctrinal decisions of the medieval church as far as I can see, only in passages where the Greek *paradosis* is translated, in the definitions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) and in the canons against Photius of the Synod of 869/70 (Denzinger 302 f., 336), in connection with the veneration of images, one of those "human traditions" which the Reformation had to reject. Otherwise the word seems to appear in an official document of the Roman church before Trent only in a letter in which Gregory IX admonishes the theologians of Paris to stick to the terminology of the Fathers, it being their duty to teach according to the approved *traditiones sanctorum* (Denzinger 442).

What is most surprising is the fact that the great scholastics seem to have no doctrine on tradition. In vain such an article is to be sought with Aquinas. Wherever in the Middle Ages *sola scriptura* is maintained, the ensuing discussion centers around the authority of the church or the pope without mentioning "tradition". This is easily to be shown in the case of Wyclif, though he himself had expressly opposed Scripture to human tradition, but also of the Waldensians (see Bernardi Abbatis Fontis Calidi Ord. Praemonstr. "Adversus Waldenses" MPL 204, 793 ff. and the ecclesiastical decisions against the Waldensians).

One of the reasons for this was the lack of clarity about what Holy Scriptures are. Thus Hugo of St. Victor knows as the Holy Scriptures twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, books outside the canon (the apocrypha), eight books of the New Testament (four Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Revelation),

the canonical decretals and numerous books of the Fathers. Though he clearly distinguishes between canonical and non-canonical books, his idea of what Holy Scripture actually is lacks clarity. Hence one can find in medieval writings time and again passages where a quotation is introduced with the words "Scripture says" or something like that, though the author knows that the quotation does not come from the canonical books. Even in Luther's trial the issue was not Scripture and tradition, but rather Scripture and the authority of the church, as it becomes quite clear from Cajetan's attempt at Augsburg in 1518 to refute Luther's *sola scriptura* by calling his attention to the famous "error" in Matt. 27:9. It was only out of the doctrinal discussions of the following generation that Rome developed a clear theory on tradition. It is most significant that tradition now was defined as a second source of revelation to be accepted with the Bible, whose canon was now positively defined, *pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia* (Denzinger 783).

That the acceptance of tradition always implies its recognition as a source of revelation is proved by the remarkable fact that the present Archbishop of Canterbury has added a third source by declaring: "The Church of England believes that the *Holy Spirit of God*, the only final authority, speaks to us in *Holy Scripture*, in the *tradition of the Church* and in the *living thought and experience of today*. — Thus there is a threefold cord, each single strand of which, unrelated to the others, leads astray" (Geoffrey F. Fisher, *Redeeming the Situation*, London: S. P. C. K., 1948, p. 43; emphasis ours). The *sola scriptura* leads astray — what a confirmation of Luther's profound insight that papalism and enthusiasm are inseparably connected and that both are bound to appear as soon as the sufficiency of Holy Writ is given up. What a warning to the Lutheran church today!

Dr. Pelikan should have made clear to the Commission the totally different approach of the Lutheran church to the problem of tradition. What "Scripture and Tradition" is for the Catholic and Anglican churches, is for the Lutheran church the problem "Scripture and Confession". We should not allow ourselves to be led astray by questions wrongly put. We know, of



course, of traditions in the church, *human* traditions, good ones and bad ones, especially in the fields of liturgy and constitution. Our Confessions make it clear (e. g. Form. Conc. X) that the church has carefully to decide how far they may or must not be retained. There are also theological traditions which in some cases have influenced the *kerygma* of the church. The Lutheran church would do well to examine in the light of Scripture the strong and not altogether healthy influence exercised by Augustine upon all Western churches including Lutheranism, e. g. with regard to his doctrine of the sacrament. Nor do we deny that the *formulation* of the trinitarian dogma has been determined by the Western theological tradition with its Latin terminology, e. g. the rendering of *hypostasis* with *persona*. Such varieties of expression occur already in the Bible.

What we must strongly reject, however, is the assumption that the dogma as such is for the Lutheran church an object of tradition. When our fathers "received" the ancient Creeds, when the Formula of Concord confirmed the Augsburg Confession, when we today "receive" the Book of Concord and pledge allegiance to its content in the most solemn hour of our lives, such reception does not mean "continued loyalty to the Catholic tradition", "loyalty to tradition", as the author puts it (*loc. cit.*, p. 215), least of all a tradition "codified in the confessions" (p. 215). It seems that we Lutherans have to learn anew what a confession in the sense of our church is.

The confession is the answer given by the church to the Word of God, the answer of faith which the Holy Spirit works in us (cf. Matt. 16:13-17; I Cor. 12:3; Luther's explanation of the Third Article). "We believe, teach and confess" *magno consensu* the truth which comes to us not from any tradition, but from the Word of God. This *consensus* comprises all generations of the true church, whose who have believed and confessed before us as well as the believers of today and of all future generations (Conclusion of the Formula of Concord).

Every real confession is made "in the sight of God" and in view of the Last Judgment. It bears an eschatological character (Matt. 10:32 f.). The individual confessor as well as the confessing church stands on the border line of time and eternity where all generations are one

before God. Therefore the confession has a place in the liturgy, which is an anticipation of the eternal worship which goes on in heaven. We pray the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the *Te Deum* which Luther occasionally counted among the Ecumenical Creeds, and rightly so, for confession is always also praise of God. Even the explanations of the Three Articles in the Small Catechism bear a liturgical character. No one can understand the Nicene Creed who has never heard it with its solemn introduction in the Eastern liturgy, as no one can understand the Augsburg Confession who does not realize the importance of its motto, Psalm 119:46, "I will speak of *Thy testimonies* also before kings, and will not be ashamed." Even if we express our faith with the words of our fathers, it is *our* faith. And why should we not use the words of the ancient Creeds? There is, thank God, no specific Lutheran doctrine on the Trinity, and even the Chalcedonian doctrine on the Person of Christ was a common possession of all Christians at that time.

The criticism launched by the school of Ritschl against the conservatism of the Reformers was mainly due to the fact that those liberal theologians had given up not only the dogma of the church, but also the authority of the Bible. Thus they were seeking for a new dogma (e. g. J. Kaftan) and blamed the Reformers for not having seen, or even having dissimulated for political reasons, the deep difference existing between them and Rome. As to the first reproach, it should always be kept in mind that at that time, and even in the 17th century, the hope prevailed that the loss of unity in the Western church was only transitory. Nowhere do our confessions claim to be the doctrinal basis of a new church, called "Lutheran", and perhaps Troeltsch was not so wrong after all when he regarded the "Old Protestantism" of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin as being closer to Rome than to the "New Protestantism" of the time since 1700.

As to the second reproach, the question should be asked whether we should not definitely drop the old myth according to which the articles on the Trinity and on the Person of Christ were put at the beginning of the Augsburg Confession to prove that the churches speaking in that confession did maintain just those doctrines



which were required by the *Corpus Juris* from all citizens of the Holy Roman Empire as a proof of orthodoxy. To be able to confirm those doctrines had certainly an advantage, but the real reason is that the *Confessio Augustana* in this respect followed Luther's Confession of 1528, one of its main sources. Did Luther as an excommunicated heretic, whose execution had only been delayed, think of gaining clemency by confirming, as he always did when he had to confess his faith, the "Sublime Articles concerning the Divine Majesty" which were not disputed, both sides agreeing on them? Why did most of the Reformed Confessions, as e. g. the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, begin with the article on the Triune God? Even the *Professio fidei Tridentina* commences with a reaffirmation of the Nicene Creed.

Nor can the condemnation of the ancient heresies and their successors — every great heresy returns time and again in new disguise in the church — be understood as mere traditionalism. This is especially true of Pelagianism. It may be admitted that the term "Pelagians" is used in Article II in a broad sense and not as accurately as the modern history of dogma would use it. However, what the meaning of the article is becomes quite clear from its sources, especially from Luther's Confession of 1528. And the *Confutatio* shows that the adversaries understood it correctly. The *Damnanti Pelagianos* has a different meaning for Rome which denies that original sin is to be without fear of God and without trust in God — these are actual sins of adults — and which furthermore does not regard, in contradistinction from the New Testament, concupiscence as sin in the baptized person. It makes a great difference whether we teach that original sin is only forgiven or that it is completely deleted through the sacrament.

Much more might be said, especially with regard to terminology. Since the Roman documents before Trent had not yet reached the clarity which we find in the decrees of the great Roman Council, so also the Lutherans had still to learn how to draft such doctrinal declarations so as to exclude every possible misunderstanding. In this connection not only the problem of the *Variata* may be mentioned, but also the differences between the German and the Latin text of the *Confessio Augustana*.

Right in the beginning of Article I the Latin text (*decretum Nicaenis Synodi . . . credendum esse*) could lead to an unevangelical misunderstanding of faith and confession, were it not qualified by the German text (*es wird gelehrt und gehalten, laut des Beschlusses Concilii Nicaeni*). The Latin text, taken for itself, could be interpreted in the sense of the Roman idea of faith which makes faith the supernatural virtue of obedient acceptance of the *credenda* proposed by the church. This would be a relapse into a traditional theology, as, to take another example of real traditionalism in the confessions, by a slip of pen of the translator the *Semper Virgo* crept into the non-official Latin text of the Smalcald Articles, which is a theologoumenon in contrast with the dogma *Natus ex Maria Virgine* with its firm biblical foundation.

Where the attempt to understand our confession from tradition instead of Scripture is bound to lead, may in conclusion be illustrated by two most distressing examples. Of Article II we read that it "chose to describe reconciliation in the ancient sacrificial metaphor of Christ as *hostia*, an image that not only had most of the tradition on its side, but was common to both Luther and the scholastics" (p. 218). An "ancient sacrificial metaphor", "an image"—from where does this new demythologization of the Augustana, or rather of the Bible, come? Does this new tradition go back to A. Ritschl, or to Lund, or to the scholars of the school of K. Holl, or to Hofmann and to the common sources of all these men? I must frankly confess that I cannot think of a scholar of the background and stature of Dr. Pelikan as regarding seriously the *ut hostia esset* as a metaphor, an image. Does he not realize that all sacrifices of the Old Testament are "shadows" of the one great sacrifice of Calvary? Has he forgotten Isaiah 53 and the passages of the New Testament where Luther in his Vulgate, which he knew almost by heart, found the word *hostia*, as in Eph. 5:2, *Christus dilexit nos et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam*, or the passages in Hebrews where *thysia* is rendered by *hostia*, e. g. 9:26, *Nunc autem semel in consummatione saeculorum ad destitutionem peccati per hostiam suam apparuit*. Should we really leave the *Agnus Dei* as the great reality of our redemption to Rome?



The same question has to be asked concerning the Lord's Supper. As to *Confessio Augustana X* we are told that "the statement concerning the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist almost passed the muster of the Roman opponents." Quite naturally, if one remembers that for Luther the Real Presence was not a Roman doctrine. The heresy of Rome in the doctrine on the Sacrament of the altar lies in the assertion of the sacrificial character of the mass, while transsubstantiation was rejected by Luther only as a false, unbiblical attempt at interpreting the miracle of the presence of Christ's true body and blood (Art. Smalc. III,6). Repeatedly Luther maintained that he would rather have with the pope the true body and blood of Christ, than with the enthusiasts mere bread and wine. If today it is pointed out that the present doctrine of the Reformed is determined by Calvin rather than by Zwingli, it should not be forgotten that Luther's famous words on the "different Spirit" at Marburg were addressed to Bucer, the great teacher of Calvin. The *Tetrapolitana* submitted to the Emperor at Augsburg contains already the gist of Calvin's eucharistic doctrine.

"This statement", scil. *Confessio Augustana X* and its explanation in the Apology, "is no isolated concession to Roman traditionalism, but part of the growing realization by both Luther and Melancthon, each in his own way, that the rise of other Protestant movements compelled Lutheranism to declare its loyalty to the Catholic tradition of the West in as unequivocal a statement as possible" (p. 217). If this may, to a certain degree, be true of Melancthon, it cannot be said of Luther. In 1524 he confessed freely, and similar statements are extant from the following years, that he personally would have preferred a figurative interpretation of the words of institution: "Aber ich bin gefangen, kann nit heraus: der Text ist zu gewaltig da ..." ("but I am imprisoned, I cannot get out of it: the text is too overwhelming"). It is not necessary to remind the translator and editor of Luther's exegetical works of the exegetical reasons which made it imperative for the Reformer to insist on the literal meaning of those words. Whatever our opinion may be on the Real Presence—and I think Dr. Pelikan does still accept the Lutheran doctrine—should we not at least honor

Luther by believing him in what he said in view of his death and the Last Judgment: "So will ich mit dieser Schrift", i. e. his Confession of 1528, "vor Gott und aller Welt meinen Glauben von Stück zu Stück bekennen, darauf ich gedanke zu bleiben bis in den Tod, darinnen (des mir Gott helfe) von dieser Welt zu scheiden und vor unseres Herrn Jesu Richtstuhl kommen. Und ob jemand nach meinem Tode würde sagen: Wo der Luther jetzt lebte, würde er diesen oder diesen Artikel anders lehren und halten, denn er hat ihn nicht genugsam bedacht etc. Dawider sage ich jetzt als dann und dann als jetzt, daß ich von Gottes Gnaden all diese Artikel habe aufs fleißigst bedacht, durch die Schrift und wieder herdurch oftmals gezogen und so gewiß dieselbigen wollt verfechten, als ich jetzt habe das Sakrament des Altars verfochten ... Ich weiß, was ich rede, fühle auch wohl was mirs gilt auf des Herrn Jesu Christi Zukunft am Jüngsten Gericht" (WA 26, 449 f., orthography modernized). ["I mean by this writing to confess my faith, point by point, before God and all the world, in which I intend to abide until my death, and therein (so help me God) to depart from this world and to appear before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ. And if after my death any one should say: If Dr. Luther were living now, he would teach and hold this or that article differently, for he did not sufficiently consider it, against this I say now as then, and then as now, that, by God's grace, I have most diligently compared all these articles with the Scriptures time and again and often have gone over them, and would defend them as confidently as I have now defended the Sacrament of the Altar ... I know what I say; I also am sensible of what it means for me at the coming of the Lord Christ at the final judgment", quoted from the English translation of *Solida Declaratio* VII, 29 ff.; Triglotta p. 981 ff.].

Space does not allow us to enter upon a discussion of further points, much as we should like to do that. We understand Dr. Pelikan's approach, which is the approach of historic theology as we knew it at the beginning of this century from the great historians like Harnack and Holl, who were not concerned with the exegetical and dogmatic problems involved. However, there is one thing we would ask him, as well as the readers of LUTHERAN WORLD, to



consider, particularly in view of the forthcoming Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation which is based on the Augsburg Confession. Let us never forget that this confession is still a real confession, and not only a document of past history. With this confession, especially with its 28th Article, we have fought in Germany for the freedom of the church of the Lutheran Reformation. For the doctrine contained therein faithful pastors went to prison and concentration camps. We have studied the *Confessio Augustana* with the congregations of a confessing church, and even simple Christian laymen have understood what the rejection of the doctrines of Arians, Valentinians (theosophists), Pelagians, enthusiasts, etc. means, because these heresies were living realities threatening the very existence of the church. Our brethren in Norway have had similar experiences, such as others are having today in other parts of the world. May the forthcoming Assembly at Minneapolis prove that the Augsburg Confession is still more than a great historic document of the past, more than a mere theological statement or a legal document, but the living confession of a truly confessing church.

North Adelaide, Hermann Sasse  
S. Australia

### Remarks on a Review

Sir: A year ago there appeared a book entitled *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche im Posener Land* by the former Superintendent of Posen, Arthur Rhode. The book has been received with great appreciation—and with great respect for the accomplishment of one who is 88 years old. It was also reviewed in this magazine (*LUTHERAN WORLD*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 409 ff.). One of our Polish brethren was asked to review it—whether this was good is an open question—Pastor Otto Krenz, a Lutheran pastor in Warsaw. I should like to thank the editor for giving me the opportunity to add a few remarks, for our concern is with much more than simply a book. Our concern is with the judgment in regard to the church of Posen.

Krenz's review is in fact simply criticism. Criticism should be heard and not disre-

garded. But it must be pertinent,—since many people cannot have an opinion of their own about the Evangelical church in Posen, or in the East in general.

For example, it is said that "ancient Polish names of towns are mentioned mostly in a German and often distorted form". I do not understand Krenz. Is he of the opinion that a book which speaks about Posen and which is written in German and therefore intended primarily for German readers should not use the names which are known to us—and in some cases have been for centuries? We say, for example, Posen, Gnesen, Lissa, Bromberg, Kolmar, Birnbaum, and not Poznan, Gniezno, Leszno, Bydgoszcz, Chodzież, Miedzychod.

He criticizes the fact that Rhode "throughout the book... can give information only about German and 'Polish-speaking' Evangelicals". In the first place the phrase "throughout the book" just does not apply, and in the second place everyone who has lived in Posen knows that, for example, in the south there were many Evangelicals who spoke Polish, it is true, but who confessed themselves to be German. Is one supposed to describe them simply as Poles, against their own will?

Rhode is criticized for giving "a one-sided presentation, which gives the false impression that there never was a Polish Protestantism in the precise sense of the word, not even at the time of the Reformation". If Krenz will forgive me for saying so, I do not find this in Rhode's book. That in a presentation of Evangelical life in Posen German Protestantism should occupy such a prominent place should be an uncontested fact which history itself corroborates.

Rhode is criticized for a "delusion" in "his attitude in regard to the Prussian policy of expropriation, which from the Evangelical Christian point of view must be condemned as completely contrary to the Gospel". It is not possible here to go into political matters like "the Prussian policy of expropriation", "the Prussian policy of oppression" and "the foundation of the German *Ostmarkenverein*, which had as its object the complete eradication of Polish nationality". We should only like to remark in passing that judgment cannot be made so simply. But as far as Rhode is concerned, where did he defend "the Prussian policy of expropriation"? The passage



which Krenz quotes is in quite a different context.

Thus we could continue. But it is not a matter of details. What is so obvious about the review is that judgment is made from a national standpoint. That one of our Polish brethren should see certain events and developments differently is understandable. Such a standpoint should also be taken very seriously, in order to arrive at as objective a presentation as possible. But the correct standard of measurement must be used. Krenz, for example, mentions that "another one-sided aspect of the book" is "the emphasis on the unity of ethnic background and confession, or of German background and Lutheranism". If that had been a policy, the reviewer would be right, for we have learned during the last decades to see more clearly theologically in this point, and we are aware, more than we were, of the temptation and danger in which a diaspora church finds itself precisely in this point. But it cannot be denied that under the effect of the Counter-Reformation in the East the development was in general such that it was possible in characterizing the confessions to identify more or less—certainly with exaggeration, but nevertheless not without cause—German and Evangelical as well as Polish and Catholic. It is thoroughly understandable that the reviewer is sensitive in this point. It is correct that this identification is a "charge which even today is made against the Evangelicals by the Catholic clergy of our country, although the vast majority of Polish Protestants at the present time are of Polish nationality". (The first speech made by the Cardinal Primate of Poland, Wyszyński, in Warsaw after his liberation is again an instructive example of this.) This charge can in fact hurt the national consciousness of a Polish Evangelical. It is for this reason quite understandable that many Polish Protestants are concerned to place particular emphasis on their Polish nationality. It has been possible to combine with this a "missionary responsibility". It is best here for me to point to the article by Krenz on L. M. Otto in the same number of LUTHERAN WORLD, p. 387 ff. (which, incidentally, one could also criticize in many points). Otto was in fact one of the great proponents of so-called "Polish Evangelicalism". Thus he struggled against precisely this charge of

the inseparable unity of German and Protestant, Polish and Catholic, and emphasized that the Evangelical church in Poland must take firm and deep root in Polish soil and among the Polish people in order to be salt and light. This all appears to be meet and right. One is, however, somewhat astonished that Krenz in his evaluation can praise so highly the "patriot" in Otto, and it would have been useful to have said that Otto came from a German family and only went over to being a Pole. Yet what is important is that which is basic. It is a fact that a church is not alive if it does not recognize its missionary responsibility in its own land. This missionary purpose must not have ulterior political motives or tendencies. In practice this extended beyond a missionary program in the direction of polonization, against which—quite rightly—German Lutheranism felt obliged to defend itself. I may be allowed perhaps to point out to readers who are interested the thoughtful judgment of Friedrich Siegmund Schultze on this whole question in the introduction to the volume of *Ekklesia* edited by him, entitled *Die Evangelische Kirche in Polen* (1938).

But what constrains me to write this letter is actually the closing sentence of the review, the sentence about the "pitiable end" of the Evangelical church of Posen. I take the liberty of quoting it in full. "Churches in the diaspora must always keep this sacred missionary task in view and must renounce attempts to gain influence in other quarters, if they want to avoid a pitiable end such the Evangelical church in Posen unfortunately had to experience." Does brother Krenz know what he is actually doing when he hands down such a judgment? What should the church of Posen say? It cannot, for example, start wanting to justify itself and boast. In mentioning the pitiable end, Krenz is surely not thinking of the period when, after 1918, the church of Posen, in the midst of great change and upheaval, experienced a strong inner revitalization under the spiritual leadership of so gifted a man as the General Superintendent, Dr. Paul Blau. Nor surely of the years 1939–1945, when Warthegau was turned into a parade ground of National Socialist church politics and the church of Posen was again thrust into a situation of struggle. (There is shortly to be published a dissertation by Paul Gürtler



on the subject of: "The conflict between the *Reichsstatthalter* and the Evangelical churches in the imperial province of Wartheland, 1939-1945".) He evidently means the pitiable end in the collapse of 1945 which overnight, as it were, brought the existence of the old church of Posen to utter ruin. But such a judgment would then also apply more or less to the Evangelical churches in East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, etc. Anyone who comes from Posen will be conscious, amid the fateful events of that time, of the question as to how far the storms of history are divine judgments upon us. He will seek to discover whether the churches in his old home had always been conscious of their true and proper service and responsibility. But it seems to me that it is quite another matter whether we German Evangelicals adopt an attitude on this point, or whether someone from the Polish people, from the Polish Evangelical church, tells us this—and in just such a way! The judgment concerning the "end" of the church of Posen rests in any case with God himself.

I find it difficult to write these remarks. But I believe I have a certain right to do so, because as Director of the *Kirchendienst Ost* I have been working for years for understanding and contact with Polish Protestantism and have been striving for years, in view of the task which lies before Protestantism in Poland, for a general Protestant responsibility in this area and have long been concerned for my part to help Protestantism in Poland materially as well. It will be apparent to brother Krenz, I hope, that understanding is not served by a judgment such as that regarding the "pitiable end".

Berlin/Zehlendorf

Harald Kruska

### Dr. Leopold von Otto

Sir: It is very good to note that the memory of a man who has done so much in the field of the Polish language has been revived by Pastor Krenz in LUTHERAN WORLD (Vol. III, No. 4, p. 387 ff.). A few additions and corrections are nevertheless necessary.

Dr. Leopold von Otto always signed his German letters in this form, although in

Polish there is no possibility of expressing a title of nobility in a name, as is done in German by the term "von". For this reason he should also be called von Otto in German, since this corresponds to his German background. The principal source of information about von Otto's life between 1866 and 1875 is not mentioned by Krenz; it is the printed address of Consistorial President Jacob Glass entitled *Ks. Leopold Otto jako pastor polski*, Warsaw: 1919. He does, however, mention repeatedly von Otto's period of enforced exile from Warsaw for political reasons. But von Otto refers, in a letter of July 31, 1866, to the Prussian minister of cultural affairs, to the "attestation of the Imperial Russian government that he is politically trustworthy and loyal", so that in regard to his application for the pastorate in Teschen "it was still possible for his request to the Consistorium to be withdrawn". General Superintendent Ludwig in Warsaw, in regard to a question which he answers in his letter of June 13, 1866, makes no mention of "exile", but gives the non-committal answer: "As to what moved the above-mentioned Pastor Otto to allow himself to be elected pastor in Teschen, I cannot, unfortunately, give you any information, since he did not communicate to us the cause of his decision." General Superintendent Erdmann of Breslau, who very warmly interceded for von Otto, writes after a personal conversation with him on October 8, 1866: "The fact that von Otto had been in prison for a time during the recent revolutionary period in Poland under suspicion of having participated in the revolutionary movements in Warsaw cannot be counted against him, since he was found innocent and released and his imprisonment was caused by the false accusation that he had omitted the intercession for the Emperor in the prayer of the church."

Nor does Pastor von Otto himself, in a letter of October 12, 1867, give an "exile" as the reason for his leaving Warsaw for Teschen, but he writes: "The reason for my having accepted the post in Teschen and for my decision to give up my position in Warsaw which by worldly accounts and points of view was a brilliant one, lies in the yearning for peace and the longing to work in a congregation where I should not have to struggle with so many worldly

difficulties as in Warsaw." He means here the tense relationship among the pastors and the factions which were behind them. In other words, nowhere is there any suggestion that "he was compelled to leave Warsaw", as Krenz maintains. The fact that von Otto was not "expelled from the capital" and "had to go to Teschen" as Krenz also writes, is shown by his willingness to go to Lyck as the Vice-General Superintendent for Masuria. Even earlier, in his letter to the Prussian minister for cultural affairs of July 31, 1866, von Otto spontaneously declared: "I hold as a theologian to the standpoint of the Lutherans within the Union, I hold fast to the Word of the Bible and to the words of the Confessions and live in the conviction that a Christian, of whatever nationality he may be, must be subject to the rightful authorities for the sake of the Lord, and since we preachers have the care of souls and our task is to build the Kingdom of God, we may not dabble in politics in the church and in the congregation nor confound the worldly and the churchly. In regard to my political convictions I am strongly conservative. Following the impulse of my heart, I have always been a devoted admirer of the Prussian royal house. My intercession accompanies His Majesty the King wherever he goes." He presented himself personally in Berlin and Königsberg and took the opportunity once again in 1867 to travel from Königsberg to Warsaw in order to perform a marriage there, something that also does not support the idea of an exile. On November 22, 1867, von Otto accepted the call to be Vice-General Superintendent for Masuria with

the express declaration: "As a confessor of the Lutheran church, I would not have any reservations in subordinating myself to the existing constitution in the Prussian territorial church and in recognizing and representing the Union."

When von Otto then on February 27, 1868, retracted his acceptance of the call, there were neither confessional nor political reasons involved. It was his sick mother and his sick daughter, whose death, according to the doctor, the East Prussian climate "would only hasten", as well as the situation in the congregation at Teschen, which persuaded him "this time, that is, for the moment" not to follow the call of the *Oberkirchenrat*. "Should, however, after some time the position in question of Vice-General Superintendent still be open, I think that everything would develop in such a way that, if I am still alive, I could, by order of the exalted *Oberkirchenrat*, be designated for the above-mentioned position. In fact, if the situation among the people here calms down somewhat, I shall always be at the disposal of the exalted *Oberkirchenrat*."

These additions from von Otto's correspondence with the *Oberkirchenrat* in Berlin, which will soon be published in full in my book, *Die kirchliche Versorgung der polnisch-sprechenden Evangelischen in Preußen während der letzten 100 Jahre*, do not in the least detract from the picture of this Lutheran from Warsaw, but rather rescue him from political misuse and distinguish him clearly from later representatives of "Polish Evangelicalism".

Berlin, Germany

Richard Kammel



## BOOK REVIEWS

### *The History and Theology of the Reformation*

THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE. *A Study of the Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Dogmaticians.* By Robert Preus. Mankato, Minnesota: Lutheran Synod Book Company, 1955. 216 pages. \$ 4.50.

THE REFORMATION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Roland Bainton. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952. \$ 3.75. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953. 205. 275 pp.

KINGDOM AND CHURCH. *A Study in the Theology of the Reformation.* By T. F. Torrance. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1956. 168 pp. 16s.

Georges Bernanos once wrote that in our day, when non-conformism has become so conventionally respectable, it is enough to repeat some of the most primitive home-truths of our forefathers to appear as a dangerous and shocking iconoclast. It is perhaps somewhat in this light that the reader ought to approach a book, the author of which has, against all convention, been conventional enough to take seriously both a period and a subject that belong to the Cinderellas par excellence of present-day historical theology. It is refreshing, too, that he has discarded all methods à la mode and has concentrated neither on the doctrine of justification, as though that one key would unlock all the doors of the seventeenth century (as it may do for the nineteenth), nor on the neo-Aristotelianism which the Lutheran scholastics had in common with most of their contemporaries, and which consequently cannot explain why Jesuits never were Calvinists nor Lutherans ever Jansenists or Unitarians.

That all theology is an interpretation and use of sources and can conveniently be studied as such is so obvious as to have been frequently overlooked. All the more stimulating then, that Preus has drawn from oblivion numerous commentaries and exegetical monographs of a period known—if at all—only for its dogmatic systems. Perhaps we may regret that the author has not gone even further in this direction. A

glance at such contemporary bibliographies as Spitzel's *Templum Honoris* (Augsburg: 1673) will convince anyone that a vast field of research lies fallow here. Perhaps the present book will whet somebody's appetite... As for the author's intimate knowledge of his sources, it enables him to treat the subject synthetically, yet without losing sight of occasional variants and developments (for example, concerning the inherent power of the Word, pp. 175 ff.). The problem of inspiration is thus presented in the seventeenth century's own terms, a method that, in a different field, counts among its adepts such men as Etienne Gilson. But Preus' book shows also the inevitable drawbacks of this method. Thus the alternative theories of Jesuits, Unitarians and others are largely described from Lutheran sources (for example, pp. 81 ff. and 93 ff.). If this has the advantage of presenting them as the Lutheran scholastics themselves saw them, it leaves us wondering what a direct confrontation with such works as Bellarmine's *Disputationes de Controversiis* might have given.

Of particular value will be the fact that Preus has disposed of numerous myths such as those of a "mechanical inspiration theory" propounded by a "dead orthodoxy"—myths that owe their longevity to the lack of adequate handbooks on post-Reformation Lutheran theology. The need for this is no doubt even greater in English than in German, where such books as Elert's *Morphologie* have rendered invaluable services. Here we have a careful analysis of what the Lutheran scholastics really did teach with regard to the historical origins of the biblical books, the relation of their authority to such factors as divine and human authorship, the problem of scriptural inerrancy and sufficiency and the relation between the text as a set of words and as God's ever active Word impinging upon man.

A few points of detail may merit particular attention. Thus Preus disclaims, of course, any intention of tracing the whole history of the doctrine of inspiration—an undertaking that would lead back far into pre-exilic Judaism. But since on the other hand he rightly does not spare us such



typical seventeenth century problems as the authenticity of the Hebrew vowel points (pp. 140 ff.), we may ask whether the problem of Calvinistic influences should not have been raised, at least in passing.

Furthermore, Preus is quite conscious of the fact that the doctrine of inspiration developed during the seventeenth century from lesser to greater detail. No doubt, as Preus himself would agree, theories like that of O. Ritschl, according to which this doctrine is the outcome of a dialectic development from Luther, via Philippism and Gnesio-Lutheranism, should be relegated to the limbo reserved for that kind of construction. Yet it is true that as early as Melancthon we have the idea that Scripture is authoritative *qua text* (*certa vox*), yet without a developed theory of inspiration. It might therefore have been fruitful to ask what aim the scholastics pursued in progressively filling the gap between divine authorship and textual authority with a doctrine of inspiration and how this is related to the views of an earlier generation (Melancthon to Chemnitz) where the same gap is at least partly filled with historical considerations about doctrinal continuity.

A further point of interest is raised by Preus' polemic against Hägglund's contention that—at least for Gerhard—the testimony of the Spirit is primarily "within" the text and not primarily "within" the hearts of men (B. Hägglund, *Die heilige Schrift und ihre Deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards*, pp. 94 ff., cf. Preus p. 109. Hägglund's name is everywhere misspelled). We might suggest that this problem be taken up in a larger context that for Preus has remained a simple paradox: the anti-tradition polemic (pp. 5 ff.) and the fact that Scripture needs no proof (p. 79) preclude neither the internal and external criteria of scriptural truth (pp. 106 ff.) nor a post-canonical teaching tradition as *norma normata* (pp. 123 ff. and esp. 130 ff.—but what of the pre-canonical teaching tradition? Do the scholastics really clear it out of the way as simply as Preus suggests, pp. 1–3?). Perhaps it would be wise to take up the question of objective and subjective certainty, hearing and believing, the *testimonium* rendered by the church and by creation, without thinking in terms of the respectable evolutionism to which we have all been brought up and which makes us

anxiously search the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the first symptoms of the supposed or real ills of the eighteenth. It might well be that the complex dialectic that the Reformers established between natural and revealed religion—the latter both confirming and invalidating the former and confirming it because it also invalidates it—could be a better point of comparison here, as it certainly is for the earlier generation that we have mentioned.

In conclusion let us congratulate author and readers on an excellent bibliography of primary sources. (A slip has occurred regarding J. A. Oslander, mentioned p. 114 and omitted in the bibliography). That the list of secondary literature is so meager reflects the true situation and needs no comment.

Pierre Fraenkel

The works by Bainton and Torrance are two fine contributions which have enriched the already existing English literature on the Reformation.

Roland Bainton, professor of church history at Yale Divinity School, is already well known through his biography, *Here I stand. A life of Martin Luther*. In the book under review he continues to write in the same popular style. The book is not encumbered by footnotes or learned disputes. And reading is facilitated by a great number of illustrations. On the other hand, however, he shows himself well acquainted with the source material and secondary literature and his opinions should no doubt reflect in most points results of reliable research. The value of this work of Bainton's is to be found in its clear survey, which makes it easy to read, rather than in a presentation of important new ideas. Starting with "Luther's faith" Bainton points out that Luther's view of the problem of "faith and knowledge" has a certain outward similarity to the view of Occamism, but that Luther's conception of faith, in spite of this, means something entirely new! "Yet, to pass from the reading of Occam to Luther is to move through the same air from the Arctic to the Equator" (p. 23). Luther's picture of God means an essential renewal: "Luther, as no one before him in more than a thousand years, sensed the import of the miracle of divine forgiveness" (p. 34). Step by step the author follows in his book "Luther's Reform" and "The Irreparable



Breach" and their consequences. Of special interest among the different chapters is one on the development of Anglicanism. Bainton points out that the most important theological work of the time of the Reformation in England was the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* by Richard Hooker. This had its consequences in the development which followed. Bainton's judgment is: "The theology of Anglicanism was a conglomerate!" (p. 184).

Torrance's study is of a different type. In about 160 pages he condenses an abundance of historical material, with continuous reference to sources. His book is intended to give a historically correct presentation of three of the most prominent thinkers of the Reformation—Luther, Calvin and Butzer—but at the same time the author engages in a certain systematic-theological evaluation. This is of great interest, since Torrance, who is a member of the (Reformed) Church of Scotland, plays an influential role in the ecumenical debate of our days. The collective theme of his book is "The Eschatology of the Reformation". The "theological virtues", faith, hope and charity, strike up their triad, according to Torrance, in this way: Luther's thinking can be described as "the eschatology of faith", Calvin's as that of "hope" and lastly Butzer could represent "the eschatology of love". The special grounds for including the short essay on Butzer's theology (pp. 73-89, Luther's is described on pp. 7-72 and Calvin's on pp. 90-164) are mentioned in the preface. It is intended to be "an indication that in his writings, particularly his biblical expositions, the link may be found which, along with modern Biblical theology, may well serve to bring into closer understanding the Lutheran and Reformed Churches".

The main features of the picture drawn by Torrance are the following: The eschatology of Luther finds its characteristic expression in a strong emphasis on the cross and on death. Calvin's conception, on the other hand, is to a high degree determined by a corresponding emphasis on the resurrection. Or, as is said in a few introductory sentences (p. 5), whereas Luther has "an eschatology of judgment" and stresses "the decay and collapse of the world", Calvin emphasizes "our participation in the new humanity in Christ".

Torrance is decidedly critical of the eschatology of Luther. "There is a distinct failure at crucial points to give the doctrine of the resurrection its full significance and weight" (p. 53).

Comparing Luther to Calvin (pp. 139-164) Torrance asserts that Luther "grievously misunderstood and mishandled the Apocalypse" (p. 146). Torrance particularly describes and lays stress upon Luther's ideas on the imminent end of the world. Torrance seems to think that Luther's conception of the radical wickedness of the world drove him in a conservative direction and he contrasts this with Calvin's thought that "the victory over Satan has already been won and that the church is more than conqueror because it is the Kingdom of Christ" (p. 161). Butzer is on the whole nearer to Calvin in his position than to Luther. "For Butzer the Kingdom of Christ in its relation to this world is not merely a 'Hörreich' but also a 'Sehreich' (to use Luther's terms), and it comes not simply *audiendo*, as Luther taught, but whenever by the power of the Spirit the Word is effectively translated into love and obedience, into life and action (p. 87)."

In Torrance's evaluation there is certainly a challenge both to Luther research and Lutheran systematic theology. Personally I would ask whether Torrance does not emphasize a little too much Luther's conception of an early end of the world, particularly in the "*Supputatio annorum mundi*" (pp. 21, 147). The ideas which in this connection he cites as Calvin's, and uses to correct Luther, can probably to a certain extent be found in other works of Luther himself. The decisive matter, however, is finally not the question as to whether Torrance exaggerated a tendency of Luther's but the question of Luther's eschatology being rooted in the Bible. Nor is the answer to this challenge of Torrance's to be found in a criticism of details in Calvin's thinking or of steps and measures taken by Calvin and his adherents regarding church discipline. Even if Torrance's challenge in respect to christology—one can of course also, as Torrance likes to do, speak about the accent being on the resurrection—only pushes an old matter of controversy between Reformed and Lutheran theology to its extreme, it is an essential question, not least because of the prominence of *Christus*



victor in modern exegesis. Lutheran theologians are certainly able, in fact they are even obliged, to give an answer!

Gunnar Hillerdal

## Modern Philosophy of History and Dogmatics

AN HISTORIAN'S APPROACH TO RELIGION. By Arnold Toynbee. Based on the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh in the years 1952 and 1953. London: Oxford University Press, 1956. 352 pages. 21 s.

HISTORIENS MYTE OG FILOSOFI [The Myth and Philosophy of History]. By Gunnar Christie Wasberg. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1955. 118 and vii pages.

HISTORIENS PROBLEMER PÅ NYE PREMISER. [The Problems of History on New Premises]. By Gunnar Christie Wasberg. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1956. 111 and xii pages.

The name of Arnold Toynbee should need no introduction. His inspiring and captivating investigations of the bases of culture, *A Study of History* and *Civilization on Trial*, have already gained the world-wide fame they undoubtedly deserve.

In these works themselves considerable attention had been devoted to religion and its part in human life and history. A reader familiar with Toynbee's earlier work will find therefore in his new treatise much which the author has said before. However, the author's brilliance, his superiority as thinker, writer and preacher, together with his profound and genuine engagement in the subject, make his book on religion a new and most interesting product of his authorship.

The book consists of two parts of approximately equal length. "The Dawn of the Higher Religions" may perhaps be characterized as a sort of historico-religious phenomenology. In this part we are introduced to what the author considers the principal types of religion: the worship of nature, man-worship (in three forms: idolization of parochial communities, idolization of an oecumenical community and idolization of a self-sufficient philosopher) and the higher religions. The encounters be-

tween these different types are illustrated by examples from history, and the idolization of religious institutions is pointed out as the most dangerous temptation for higher religions.

In the second part, "Religion in a Westernizing World", this phenomenology is used as a key to the present cultural and intellectual situation. A broad analysis is given of the seventeenth-century revolution of western life, which established the direction of cultural and intellectual development for the centuries to come. According to Toynbee this revolution was partly a just and necessary rebellion against ecclesiastical absolutism and intolerance (Protestant as well as Roman), but after becoming also an emancipation from the essence of the Christian heritage, it concluded in the slipping back of western culture from "higher religion" to man-worship: idolization of the community and of "the invincible Technician". Since it is becoming more and more obvious that the present cultural pattern is insupportable, the need of another encounter between religion and culture today ought to be our paramount concern.

Such an encounter must necessarily involve the adapting of religion to the present cultural situation. First of all, this means that no religion can claim to possess the only way to the truth. Such a claim would not only involve a danger to peace and understanding, it is directly rooted in original sin, which is self-centeredness. Through a comparative analysis of the seven "higher religions" (three "Buddhaic religions", three "Judaic", and one "decidedly Judaic in spirit and outlook"): Hinayana Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, post-Buddhaic Hinduism—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—Zoroastrianism—the author finds them all to have fundamental traits in common; especially the Mahayana and the "Judaic" religions meet in "their common tenet, that Absolute Reality has a personal aspect" and that "in virtue of His goodness, God, or a bodhisattva, cares for human beings, loves them, and helps them." The topics of divergence are non-essential points, such as "local holy places", different "tabus", "social conventions" "myths" and "theology". "The missions of the higher religions are not competitive; they are complementary. We can believe in our own religion without having to feel that it is



the sole repository of truth." We are not able to judge between our own religion and our neighbors', because our self-centeredness gives us a bias in favor of our own. "A time may come when the local heritages of the different historic nations, civilizations, and religions will have coalesced into a common heritage of the whole human family. If that time does come, an effective judgment between the different religions may then at last begin to be possible. We are perhaps within sight of this possibility, but we are certainly not within reach of it yet."

Undoubtedly, the attention paid to self-centeredness as original sin might have made a fruitful starting-point for a philosophy of religious history. In this connection, however, the fundamental weakness of Toynbee's historical method becomes apparent: he too easily falls in love with words and concepts, the full meaning of which he has not made sufficiently clear and distinct to himself. This, it seems to me, is due to a lack of awareness on the part of the author of his own philosophical presuppositions. The notion of self-centeredness, when given no further definition in a theological or philosophical discussion, is like a gun in the hands of a child of five: anybody may get shot, even the brave hero himself. Isn't it indeed a symptom of "self-centeredness" even to talk of "higher religions"? Higher than what—and ranged according to what scale? Is there a major difference between repudiating, for example, a hundred religions in favor of one and repudiating ninety-four in favor of seven?

There may also be grounds for questioning Toynbee's proposition concerning the immense decline in the importance of Christianity from about 1600 until our days. Doesn't the author consider too exclusively the institutional and political aspect of the problem? It seems to me he is too uncritically identifying the break-down of ecclesiasticism with a decline of Christianity, leaving out of consideration the notable currents of spiritual revival which have so strongly marked church life in the last 150 years. In a decisive way, the author here seems himself to have fallen victim to the "idolization" of institutions which, in other connections, he has so strongly condemned. It also seems characteristic of his own dogmatic position that the author fails to see the real origin of modern man-worship: the turn from revelation to subjective religiosity,

from "agape" to "eros". The modern "idol" is not only the technician—who is by far the least dangerous because most men are beginning to recognize the insufficiency of technology—but the religious man, the magnificent reflection of what we believe to be our own spiritual possibilities, our own image before which we kneel and pay homage. "Original sin" for Toynbee becomes a term for ideas that more or less refuse to conform to his standard of what "higher religion" is, whereas according to the New Testament, original sin is a predicament in which we all stand—regardless of ideas or opinions. As a consequence, Toynbee's religious philosophy concludes with an appeal for tolerance between the "higher religions", a tolerance motivated by the values common to them all, whereas the Gospel presupposes solidarity between all men, solidarity given by the fact of the one Creator, the one fall and the one Cross.

Of course Toynbee's call for a distinction between the "essence" of a religion and its institutions, which are conditioned by certain temporary or local circumstances, ought to be heard. But he is pointing out in this connection problems with which theology has been familiar for at least five generations. His warning against religious self-sufficiency seems however to be very important for our time. We really need to be confronted with the unpleasant truth that as far as religious ideas, traditions and customs are concerned, the Christian church can claim no absolute superiority of its own; only Christ can claim absoluteness. Our loyalty to Christ bars to us the way to the religious subjectivism and relativism preached by Arnold Toynbee, but it surely must open to us a solidarity with our fellow men—those of "lower" religions as well as those of "higher"—which the church in the course of its long history has often failed to realize. It is impossible for us to accept the author's solution, but we ought to be grateful for the most stimulating and useful challenge he has given. Although fired more or less at random, his shots sometimes hit and bring to our attention targets we all too easily happen to lose sight of.

As an interpreter of history, Toynbee to a large extent seems to revive the positions of Hegel. The development from worship of nature to man-worship to higher religion seems to be related to the thesis—antithesis—synthesis scheme. And what is a passage



like the following but *Hegel redivivus*: "If we do not feel that we can afford to wait for Time to do its discriminating work, we are confessing to a lack of faith in the truth and value of the religion that happens to be ours. On the other hand, if we do have faith in it, we shall have no fear that it will fail to play its full part in helping human souls to enter into communion with the presence behind the phenomena and to bring themselves into harmony with this Absolute Reality." (p. 296). Hegel thought himself to be a true friend and defender of the Christian faith in which he had been brought up. Subsequent time—and that means the very same history in which Hegel himself confessed his faith—has passed judgment on his religious philosophy in quite another way. If the historian Toynbee would analyze the case of Hegel, perhaps he would arrive at conclusions of some importance for the theologian Toynbee.

In spite of the different titles, Wasberg's books here under review are but two parts of one study. Together they offer a very interesting portrait of the philosophy of history during the last 150 years. The first volume deals mainly with the struggle of ideas of the nineteenth century; the second one surveys the discussions of our own time. As we know, the interpretation of history during this period has grown to be a more and more urgent problem. There is not only the quest for a meaning to history, but also the question of the significance of speaking about "meaning" itself. The author's presentations are short and clear, suitable as first introductions to the subject. But even readers familiar with modern philosophy may find stimulating ideas and views in his personal and at times challenging interpretations.

The weakness of the author's surveys lies in a certain superficiality. He deals too hastily with too many names and too many problems, with references to the entire history of philosophy. He is undoubtedly giving a documentation of his journalistic ability just as much as (or perhaps even a bit more than) of his philosophical qualifications. I would especially find reasons for severe criticism of his interpretation of existential philosophy, which occupies a main part of his interest in the second volume.

Highly interesting is the author's principal thesis: no interpretation of history

ever has escaped (or ever will escape) the intermingling of fact and myth: "The historico-philosophical conception of totality arises as a mediator between research and personal conviction. Therefore the philosophers of history often take an active part in the creating or recreating of a cultural milieu. Ideas provoke action or passivity, belief or doubt. The philosopher of history will always remain—in relation to his significance—an exponent of the intellectual currents of his time, his ideas being borne along the crest of the swells of this same time. For this reason, the philosophy of history and its development, in order to be fairly understood and judged, ought to be seen in the full context of the history of ideas" (*Historiens myte*, p. 27).

The reader will soon find himself sharing Wasberg's delight in a most interesting and important field of problems. This is, indeed, a very decisive merit of a study of this kind.

Per Lønning

## Counseling and Education

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS AND THE BIBLE. By George H. Muedeking. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956. 188 pp. \$ 3.00.

COUNSELING AND THEOLOGY. By William E. Hulme. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956. 250 pp. \$ 3.75.

ANXIETY IN CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE. By Wayne E. Oates. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. 156 pp. \$ 3.00.

INTEGRATION IN THE CHRISTIAN LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE. Edited by Howard Hong. Northfield, Minnesota: St. Olaf Press, 1956. 252 pp.

METHODIK DES KIRCHLICHEN UNTERRICHTS. [Methodology of Christian Instruction]. By Adolf Burkert. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag. 2nd. expanded edition, 1956. 218 pp.

All three of the books on pastoral psychology and theology are products of the modern pastoral counseling movement. Since this movement had its source in Freudian psychology it is having a difficult time today trying to introduce real Christianity, even though the psychology of



Freud has had many modifications. This difficulty lies not merely in Freud's antagonism to religion, but rather (1) in the techniques of much Freudian therapy which absolutely exclude authority, revelation and directed, purposeful outcomes as being harmful to "cure", (2) different ideas as to what "cure" really is and (3) the one-sided interest of most Freudian psychology in the problems of psychopathology, repeatedly applying the principles of the treatment of unhealthy mental processes to the treatment of healthy ones, interpreting balance in the same way as lack of balance, representing the sane by the insane, reflecting the view that normality may be studied through the lens of abnormality instead of the reverse, and falsely supposing that most of the motives and traits of the individual necessarily are rooted in the unconscious. Thus the Bible itself is frequently psychologized, all kinds of bizarre interpretations are read into it, and it is used chiefly as a source book of illustrations supposedly of Freudian discoveries. While these books under review do not entirely escape these dangers, all three recognize them and do valiant service in the restoration of the Bible and theology to their rightful places in relation to psychotherapy.

The Rev. George H. Muedeking, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church in El Cerrito, California (who is also an instructor at the Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary) in his *Emotional Problems and the Bible* attempts to answer the question, "Has Christianity any help to give me in the weird, mixed-up world of fears and desires I find myself in? How can I feel that God cares for me?" He presents the symptoms and causes of eight conditions: anxiety, guilt, hate, intolerance, boredom, inferiority, loneliness and doubt. He claims that an adequate understanding of the Bible releases the innate healing powers of the soul and encourages a realism towards life that helps a man face the world unafraid. The book is not simply a guide to passages of the Bible for certain crises, but rather a consideration of the total message of the Word. The author says, "It promotes realism toward life. It releases the native healing powers of the soul. It keeps the mind focussed on the present... It encourages honesty. It liberates with its permissive offer of forgiveness. It is supportive. It directs toward ego-integration." The treatment is evangelical, although like

the other two books and like most literature in this field, it does not sufficiently distinguish between guilt and guilt-feelings, and between acceptance (or permissiveness) and forgiveness and redemption.

Prof. William E. Hulme of Wartburg Lutheran Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa comes to real grips with the issues in his *Counseling and Theology*. His book is in three sections: the needs of those who come for advice (for a listener, for confession, for understanding, and for growth), the theological concepts that underlie counseling (man, the universal priesthood of believers, freedom, the means of acceptance) and the church's means of grace in Word and Sacraments. His standpoint is that of confessional Lutheran theology. In relating these doctrines to pastoral counseling, he allows them to prove their pertinence, interpreting them according to the historical experience out of which they developed and not in terms of any of our current theological movements. He uses them to bolster the psychological framework of pastoral counseling, not the reverse, and therefore maintains their independent integrity and validity.

Wayne E. Oates is Professor of Psychology of Religion and Pastoral Care at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky. His *Anxiety in Christian Experience* is marked by practicality and sanity. The central calling of the pastor is emphasized. "The pastoral counselor, particularly, is out of touch with his true destiny as a minister if he does not subordinate all his concerns to his ministry of reconciliation through the forgiveness of sins by God. When he is at home in this sense of destiny, he discovers that his colleagues in the field of psychotherapy have a clear ground of understanding with him." Anxieties are grouped under finitude, grief, sin, legalism, moral indifference, the cross, and holy dread. They are analyzed and illustrated and then theological or Biblical aspects are given and applied. The relation of the cross to the anxiety of sin, however, is in terms only of cross-bearing under the example of Jesus (Heb. 12:1,2), no satisfactory treatment of the atonement being found. The final chapter on "Anxiety and the Fellowship of Concern", showing the necessity and healing value of the church, is both inspiring and practical.

Frederick R. Knubel



The Lutheran church of America is proud of its many fine colleges. And yet there has never existed a truly Lutheran philosophy of education, as Dr. Bergendoff, president of Augustana College (Illinois) has pointed out: "There is no Lutheran Protestant philosophy of education." The value of specifically Christian colleges has been challenged especially in the present time.

Originally all education in America was "Christian". Even the most renowned schools were somewhat church-related. Since the middle of the 19th century this has radically changed. And yet the Christian church continues to develop its program of Christian liberal education.

The present volume attempts to formulate a Lutheran philosophy of education. St. Olaf College, home of the famed St. Olaf choir, is the second largest Lutheran college in America (about 1,600 students). The editor of this book is professor of philosophy and well known in Lutheran circles in America and Europe.

The committee presents first the concern over the fragmentation in higher education, which it calls a kind of "cafeteria-style education". Certainly this "cafeteria-style" existed in ancient Greece, but the Greek educators were always aware of the wholeness of education. Our present day utilitarian and "practical" education had its forerunner in ancient Rome, but the church rescued Roman education and gave it a new meaning. The dilemma is not new, only it is especially bad right now. R. M. Hutchins, former president of Chicago University, has said that American college graduates have more information and less understanding than their colonial counterparts.

The Christian church has tried from the beginning to give new direction to education. Either she has rejected all cultural values, as Tertullian did, or she has submerged herself in the secular stream of education, losing often her true identity and mission. But there are other possibilities: The program of "split adaptation" which devotes itself to the transcendent and eternal contrasted to the realm of evanescent human knowledge; or the program of "critical participation" which acknowledges that this world is God's world and that he reveals himself to men through the mediation of this world (Lu-

ther's *larvae Dei*). However, even this double solution is not simple. During the Middle Ages the church did not master this herculean task of blending secular learning with Christian dogma, and the result was classical humanism which announced that every person who has been placed in contact with things excellent can know the truth and will do what is right. The final outcome was the German ideal of freedom of investigation and freedom of teaching which led to the present atomizing of all learning.

The members of the committee are not enthused about the German ideal. After the German ideal was implanted upon American education—mostly by a "number of brilliant college presidents" who had studied in Germany—erudition often swamped common sense, and since the old American ideal of educating a person to be a good citizen did not die, the result was a patchwork of antagonistic ideals of education. In this century American education has to some extent forsaken the German ideal, and compulsory courses have been introduced under the heading "general courses" thereby loading the already overcrowded curriculum with a new set of vested interests.

Thus we are at present in a quandary. The extreme freedom of investigation has led to fragmentation, while extreme advocacy of prescribed courses has led to a killing of the natural drives and interests of students. There are other troubles: Many educators, among them Hutchins, emphasize the value of intellectual education at the expense of "social graces and the other tricks of the trade". Others, the champions of the so-called "whole personality" program, would gladly forget the cultural values. They are the functionalists whose interest is circumscribed by the myopic views of the day's newspaper, while the anti-functionalists are being accused of being impractical, snobbish, antisocial, which they are certainly not.

What has the Christian church to offer under these conditions? The Catholic church announces: "The ultimate purpose of the Catholic college is to bring souls closer to God with the aid of grace." It bases its whole educational system on theology and philosophy. But where does the Lutheran church stand? She has no generally accepted philosophy of education. Protestants



in general are exposed to the risk of being submerged in the cultural currents of our times. Often the "Christian" liberal arts college is nothing but a place which exudes a kind of "Christian aroma". That is not enough. The Christian college must have a better reason to exist. The authors give the following reasons for the existence of the Christian college: (1) it provides educated churchmen, (2) it teaches a Christian philosophy of life, (3) it promotes Christian culture and research in never-ending battle against the secularization of life. The concern of the Christian college is to teach students to reason validly, to communicate clearly, to inquire accurately, to evaluate wisely, and to understand synoptically. All teaching must be subject to these aims.

This may sound simple, but it is difficult to achieve. However, Christian education is blessed with a unifying principle which secular education does not possess: It can call man from the confusion of this world to the peace of Christ, which passeth all human understanding. Thus the various course offerings, which as a result of specialization, of freedom of investigation and freedom to teach, of functionalism and many other factors have led to an atomizing of our education, become once more united for the purpose of forming a Christian personality. The authors present detailed statements by the various departments of St. Olaf College which are in general agreement that each department can receive and give and that it can contribute to the synoptic understanding of the whole. In the last few chapters the authors discuss and suggest means and ways for the implementation of Christian liberal arts education in the various disciplines.

This is an extremely valuable book for anyone who is concerned about the future of Christian education. The road of rejection is not open to us, for as C. S. Lewis says: "If all the world were Christian, it might not matter if all the world were uneducated. But, as it is, a cultural life will exist outside the Church whether it exists inside or not."

Walter G. Tillmanns

Adolf Burkert presents us with a far-reaching work growing out of his short book of 1951 with the same title. It should be said immediately that the title deviates somewhat from the usual terminology. The

term "Christian instruction" here means primarily religious instruction in the German primary schools, though side glances are cast toward the secondary and vocational schools as well as toward confirmation instruction.

The book offers in particular matters many helpful and practical hints and suggestions which cannot all be mentioned here (e.g. p. 44 ff.; 87, 89, 119, etc.). On the other hand, however, it is precisely in coming to terms with Burkert's book that certain points of view become apparent which, if they are kept in mind, could be constructive for a methodology of Evangelical instruction. We shall consider these in particular in this review.

On the one hand there is the question whether a methodology can be written at all without immediately illustrating each individual idea with biblical texts and/or other aspects of Evangelical instruction (Burkert does this in part). Every abstract methodology is in danger of ending in formalism. That is also the reason why Burkert's arguments occasionally appear somewhat schematic, somewhat empty (cf. for example "Aufgaben des kirchlichen Unterrichts", p. 31 ff.; "Evangelium und Unterrichtsmethode", p. 47 ff.).

On the other hand it must be stated emphatically that one cannot promulgate a methodology of Evangelical religious instruction without continually taking into consideration the methodology and didactics of other disciplines. Of course, religious instruction is itself a "discipline" *sui generis*, but it is high time for us to overcome the fact that, as far as methodology is concerned, religious instruction is always behind the other disciplines. Therefore it is incomprehensible that in Burkert's book, for example, no mention is made at any point of "learning and teaching by example" — a method which we must put to use in religious instruction, just as all the other disciplines do. Catechetical instruction, and instruction in church history take on new aspects from this point of view (that is, precisely no "insights" and "personalities" as mentioned by Burkert on page 175 ff.), which provides not only practicable rules but which arises out of a deepened understanding of the nature of instruction. In general, this means that present-day methodological attempts with regard to religious instruction must not only be occupied with



the methodological contributions of the past, but must come to terms precisely with current theses arising out of other disciplines.

In the third place, it is true for the methodology of every discipline that it is both controlled and set free in each case by the given understanding of the discipline itself. For this reason theological statement must not be any less thorough and no question must be oversimplified, but rather, the matter must be gone into so penetratingly that the simplicity is reached which is necessary for the non-theologian and for the school situation. To this extent there is, in this context, grave responsibility connected with every theological statement.

For this reason it is a question whether Burkert does not hope to offer too much in his book, too great a breadth, often at the expense of depth. This misgiving arises particularly in view of the theoretical first part of the book in which the decisive theological questions are treated. Here many simplifications and generalizations can be misunderstood, many impressively used terms need to be spelled out more closely (e.g. "Heilsgeschichte" and "total sketch of the drama of salvation"). To hope to treat the problem of demythologization in about ten pages would appear to be a fruitless enterprise (for this reason also we shall not attempt to go into the somewhat vulnerable argumentation). Thus, precisely the first part leaves many misgivings and much still to be desired.

In the second part problems of youth psychology are discussed. Our objection runs along the same line. Can justice be done to the theme when, on but a few pages, "sketches" are offered ("Psychology of the Religion of Children and Youth")? How can one guard against generalizations which are of necessity vulnerable? What can one say regarding a thesis like this: "The big-city dweller is a man of work, of the moment and of pleasure" (p. 81)? Or, "membership in a certain social stratum comes out fairly clearly in the type of piety which is practiced" (p. 80)?

The third part (Methodik—Didaktik) offers some determined proofs for the inner connection between methodology and theology. In the theological part Burkert had said, "The account reported in the Bible, as something completed in the past, is far removed from us; by means of procla-

mation it is to become present" (p. 15). This thesis is characteristic for Burkert's theological thinking. We cannot agree to such a constructed contrast between "something completed(!) in the past" and the proclamation of the Word. But from this position Burkert is drawn with inner necessity into questionable methodological theses. He ends up—though somewhat chastened, and with the assurance that he meant it differently—with new terms (p. 111 ff.) but in the same old formal categories. His understanding of the relationship between biblical history and proclamation allows him no other way out. In addition to the aim inherent in a text itself there is for Burkert in the process of instruction the "Word directed to us"—that is, however, practically speaking, the old idea of "application" (p. 116 ff.), and it is also not simply chance that he speaks again and again of "goals" to be formulated beforehand.

Thus one will have to say that Burkert's book, despite many pertinent individual insights, which are certainly helpful, presents as a whole no new methodological conception.

Gert Otto

## Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr

THE THEOLOGY OF PAUL TILlich.  
*Edited by Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1952. The Library of Living Theology, Vol. I. 370 pp. \$ 5.50, 48s. 6d.*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR. HIS RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT.  
*Edited by Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1956. Library of Living Theology, Vol. II. 486 pp. \$ 6.50, 45s. 6d.*

For many Europeans the names of Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr are synonymous with what they imagine to be American theology. This idea is certainly false, for North America, and in particular the United States, has many significant theologians today, though these may for a time remain relatively unknown in Europe. Yet



there is a certain justification in this idea, for Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr have in fact helped to mold in a definite way the theological thought of America.

It is only proper that a new series of American books, which is to give a survey of present-day theology, should begin with two volumes, one of which is devoted to Tillich and the other to Niebuhr. "The Library of Living Theology" represents a counterpart to "The Library of Living Philosophers" which was initiated by Paul Schilpp in 1939. In each of these series one volume apiece is devoted to a leading thinker who introduces it with a personal presentation of his own thought; then there follows a number of critical essays by others, which are then answered by the person in question in a closing section. It is primarily American authors who have collaborated in the sizable volumes on Paul Tillich (370 pages) and Reinhold Niebuhr (486 pages). This in no way detracts from their value and interest for European readers. On the contrary, precisely in this way the reader obtains a good and comprehensive introduction to the particular thought of present-day American theology and, at any rate in part, of American philosophy as well. A few Europeans do, however, make a contribution. In the book on Tillich, Theodor Siegfried of Marburg writes on "The Significance of Paul Tillich's Theology for the German Situation", and the Englishman Robert H. Daubny on "Some Structural Concepts in Tillich's Thought and the Pattern of the Liturgy".

One of those writing on Niebuhr is Emil Brunner, who in fact has much in common with him, and who at any rate in a certain period of Niebuhr's development also exercised a decisive influence on him. But it is precisely the American contributions which point up the critical questions which Tillich and Niebuhr put to one another. Special mention should be made, it seems to me, of the following contributions in the book on Tillich: "Tillich's Role in Contemporary Theology", by Theodore M. Greene (Yale University); "The Method and Structure of Tillich's Theology", by George F. Thomas (Princeton University); and "Tillich's View of the Church", by Nels F. S. Ferré (Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee).

In the volume devoted to Niebuhr, the article by John C. Bennett (Union Theological Seminary, New York) on "Reinhold Niebuhr's Social Ethics" shows particular

thoroughness. Paul Ramsey (Princeton University) follows one of the chief problems in Niebuhr's thought, the problem of "Love and Law". Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. writes on "Reinhold Niebuhr's Role in American Political Thought and Life" and Richard Kroner (Temple University, Philadelphia) on "The Historical Roots of Niebuhr's Thought".

Both volumes contain not only valuable contributions but also full bibliographies of the writings of Tillich and Niebuhr.

Of great interest also are the two autobiographical articles, for they present the thought of both Tillich and Niebuhr in a light which is in many respects unique. Tillich confesses, in a way which could almost enthrall a modern psychologist who takes as his starting point the childhood impressions of adults, how the idyll of a small town — Schönfliess in Brandenburg — may perhaps be the background for a certain romantic element in his thought. In his feeling he was influenced by Schelling's philosophy of nature, of which he believes himself to have found a kind of theological echo in his "doctrine of the participation of nature in the process of fall and salvation". This theological approach leads Tillich to some critical reflections on the so-called "extra Calvinisticum" according to which "the finite is not capable of the infinite", as well as on what Tillich holds to be typical of average American thought, namely a lack of feeling for history. Tillich, who at 47 emigrated to the United States, records this element with particular incisiveness. "It is the European destiny to experience, in every generation, the wealth and tragedy of historical existence, and consequently to think in terms of the past, whereas America's history started with the loss both of the burden and of the richness of the past". In his reply to his critics, Tillich champions one of his basic concerns, the concern that ontology should not be neglected. "I come from 'the age of epistemology', and from a country in which, since the rise of neo-Kantianism, the doctrine of knowledge had completely obscured the question of being. In reaction to this state of affairs I have followed those who made it clear that every epistemology has ontological assumptions, whether hidden or open. And I decided that it is better to have an open, critical and constructive ontology than a surreptitious one" (p. 331).



In contrast to Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr has gone through a development which is both interesting and typically American. He himself tells how in a certain sense his theological thinking began with experiences which he had as a very young pastor in the "motor capital" of Detroit. He came there full of optimism and youthful idealism and experienced at first hand some of the great crises in the Ford factories there. This happened in the years after 1910, when the labor unions were still struggling for recognition. Niebuhr reports how profoundly shaken he was by the fact that the Chamber of Commerce in one instance designated the leaders of the unions as Communists and attempted to keep the churches from inviting them to speak. Almost at the same time the first world war profoundly shook all those who believed in constant progress. Niebuhr himself says, however, that the strongest impulses for his further thinking came from his immediate environment. He began step by step to examine the authorities of his time. He carried out a radically biblical examination of man which laid bare every kind of egoism, not least the collective egoism of the group. He was able to give comprehensive expression to these ideas, however, only at a comparatively late date. He himself points to his extensive work on *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, which appeared in two volumes, in 1941 and 1943, yet dissociates himself from his well-known book on ethics, of which he says, "I am not therefore able to defend, or interested in defending, any position I took in *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*."

The appearance of "The Library of Living Theology" is one of the most interesting events in theological publishing in recent years. One awaits with interest the appearance of the other volumes, which are to be devoted to American and also to European theologians.

Gunnar Hillerdal

## Christianity among the Nations

INTRODUCING BUDDHISM. By K. S. Latourette. New York: Friendship Press, 1956. 64 pp., \$0.60.

INTRODUCING HINDUISM. By Malcolm Pitt. New York: Friendship Press, 2nd edition, 1956, 60 pp., \$0.60.

INTRODUCING ISLAM. By J. Christy Wilson. New York: Friendship Press, 3rd edition, 1954, 64 pp., \$0.60.

... EAST IS EAST. By Peter Fingesten. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956, 181 pp., \$3.00.

A SOURCE BOOK IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. Edited by S. Radhakrishnan and C. A. Moore. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1957, 684 pp., \$5.00.

THE CALL OF THE MINARET. By Kenneth Cragg. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, 376 pp., \$6.25.

SHOCK AND RENEWAL. By Keith R. Bridston. New York: Friendship Press, 1955. 64 pp., \$0.40.

ECUMENICAL FOUNDATIONS. By William Richey Hogg. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. 466 pp., \$5.00.

MISSION UND OEKUMENE. By William Richey Hogg. Translated by Hans Bolewski and Martin Schlunk. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1954. 458 pp., DM 10.80.

WELTWEITE SENDUNG [World-Wide Mission]. By J. Stöckle. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 3rd. edition, 1956. 189 pp., DM 4.80.

SARAH CHAKKO. By Hedwig Thomä. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1955. 91 pp., DM 2.80.

IN HIS NAME. By George Appleton. London: Macmillan, 1956. 191 pp., 9s. 6d.

The fact that the non-Christian religions are not a matter which concerns "missions" but rather the whole church should be something which has long been recognized. But this isn't so. But perhaps one will come to see more and more that the present competition of the religions, together with the stark reality of excessive increase in population (yearly an increase of twenty million heathen over against one to three million baptisms!) will become an existential question for the church. May it not be that the Chinese proverb will prove true, "It is always later than you think"?

Even the busiest of our ecclesiastical contemporaries, with the tightest of schedules,



can orient himself today quickly and adequately on the various religions. With the three "Introducing . . ." booklets, the Friendship Press has published something both necessary and valuable. Well-known authors, specialists in their fields, were secured: Latourette, Pitt and Wilson. Each of their booklets presents a good description, a reliable and readable introduction to the doctrines of one of the three great religions, a confrontation with the Christian faith, and also a small bibliography. These books really do belong in every congregational library and should be used as bases for discussion. For even the well-known "simple congregational member" (as likewise and especially every pastor) must know something about the world religions, to which Christ has directed his church in its service—and which are challenging us today.

He who would go somewhat deeper is well served by . . . East is East. The fine title indicates clearly in what sense the author intends to have Hinduism and Buddhism seen. He emphatically brings out the fundamental differences between these religions and Christianity and does the Christian reader a good and highly necessary service. By contrasting Buddhism and Christianity the book clearly shows that Jesus and his teachings are not dependent on Buddhist sources and that echoes and so-called parallels may not be allowed to cover up and gloss over the fundamental difference between the two. The author presents in a very impressive way the antitheses between them in a list of twenty-six points. In view of the expansion of Buddhism and the susceptibility of many Christian circles, such a clear presentation is very useful.

In regard to Hinduism, Krishna is contrasted to the Christ of the Scriptures, down to the overemphasis on sex. There is no other work known to us which does this so fully and penetratingly and from which one can see so clearly that there neither can nor may be any thought of syncretism. He who chooses Peter Fingesten as his guide will, precisely because of the sharply outlined presentation of the contrast (which must always remain as such, and can never become either coexistence or cooperation), rejoice even more in his Christian faith.

We owe it to Hinduism, and the world service of the church demands of us, that

we know the sources in their main outline. The introduction is quite right in regarding such knowledge as necessary from the historical, philosophical and political point of view. For us there is also the missionary point of view, since a real confrontation of the Christian faith and Hinduism has never yet taken place on a more official level. The *Source Book in Indian Philosophy* offers us here significant and valuable assistance. We find here a good selection from the wealth of India's literature extending over more than three centuries. To date, there has not been such a comprehensive summary of Indian philosophy, which is always at the same time religion (and vice versa). The specialist will be just as glad to make use of it as the ecumenical globe-trotter in India, who must concern himself with the intellectual and religious background of India before he goes there, and before he can speak or write about India, because only in this way is it possible really to comprehend (even down to social matters which have their religious roots).

Every literary genre (e. g. the Vedas, the Bhagavad-Gita, the Vedanta, Sri Aurobindo and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan) is given a short introduction.

I consider this book to be a significant publication. The editors are also to be thanked for providing a good bibliography and a full and reliable index. As the name of the Indian vice-president, Dr. Radhakrishnan, in itself indicates, the book is meant to serve to bring about a confrontation between East and West. On page xxviii the caste system is described somewhat too favorably, as is also on page 172—much too one-sidedly—the "high place" of women in the lawbook of Manu. There one finds things of a different nature as well!

Looking to the world of Islam, it was said in Whitby in 1947 that the church has never seriously attempted to preach the Word of life to Mohammedans and to begin really to come to terms in a penetrating way with Islam. *The Call of the Minaret* penetrates deeply into the history and theology of the two great world religions. From a presentation of present-day Islam, its doctrinal content, its characteristic expression in the theocracy of the state and in the social relations of men, Cragg goes over to a penetrating discussion with Islam: the minaret (that is, the gatherer)



and the Christian (pp. 173-357). Here there are no slight connections, or even tinges of identity between the two faiths. But Cragg is—quite rightly—of the opinion that in the twentieth century a conversation can and must be carried on with Islam quite different from that which was possible in former times. Much debris is not offered at a discount or squandered, but is taken out of its old wrappings and shown forth in all its brilliance. "The Christian mission is simply an active recognition of the dimensions of the love of God. Christ only belongs to us because He belongs to all. He is ours only by virtue of His universality."

To what extent the "good old days" are over in respect to missions is shown by Keith Bridston in his pamphlet *Shock and Renewal*, which is meant to provide a basis for discussion groups. Short presentations on every possible theme (the task of the church; new fronts; there must be repentance; the end and the means; the ecumenical movement and missions, etc.) end with concrete questions which are worth discussing. If the sub-title of the book, "The Christian Mission Enters a New Era", is correct, then it is high time that along with the Student Volunteer Movement, for whose 17th conference this booklet was written, wide areas of the church should concern themselves with a better knowledge of the responsibility and situation of the church's work.

He who would understand that the ecumenical era does not intend to and cannot supersede the "missionary era", but that on the contrary mission and *oikoumene* are closely bound up with one another, cannot overlook Hogg's *Ecumenical Foundations*. The German reader can read it in German. An well-known American (Van Dusen of Union Seminary, New York) is simply correct when he says that "it must be read by everyone who makes a pretense of speaking or thinking about Ecumenical Christianity. I can name no other book which is, so literally, a *sine qua non* for understanding that movement" (next to *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, which appeared later). The way which the Protestant church "in movement" (Löhe) has taken is in fact depicted with a really admirable scholarship and with references to sources (which are unfortunately missing in the German).

One notices in many articles written by men sitting on ecumenical pedestals that they do not know how the ecumenical movement of today arose. The usual introversion and appalling ignorance of the missionary movement as the origin of the ecumenical movement should not scare anyone away just because the German title contains the ominous word "mission". They should stick to the English title!

This reviewer confesses with gratitude that Hogg's book has helped to give him many new insights. Only one example: it is Hogg who, in the face of all kinds of false statistics stemming also from prominent experts, for the first time established how many, or rather, how few representatives from the so-called younger churches were present at Edinburgh in 1910. Nowhere else is the fact so clearly traced with reference to the sources that "the roots of the World Council of Churches go back to Edinburgh 1910".

The same theme, "mission and *oikoumene*" is behind Stöckle's *Weltweite Sendung*, which is intended for young people. It should also be given to young people, and it should have a place in every congregational library. For here the young reader is introduced to the world of religions and to the work of the church, and experiences a widening of his horizon in regard to general knowledge and knowledge of the church, which a younger Christian today cannot be without and still actively participate in the work of the church. That it was not A. H. Francke who sought and sent out the first Indian missionaries in 1705 (*sic* page 12) I have pointed out in other places.

The biography of Sarah Chakko, the great Indian woman, should be read by everyone. She came from a family of the Mar Thoma church and was at the last a member of the Presidium of the World Council of Churches.

Prayer must be made in the church "in His name" for the confrontation of Christianity with the various religions. G. Appleton, an Anglican minister, provides in his book on prayer an invaluable aid to prayer which must be made "with loving and persistent urgency for the world of men for whom Christ died, and for the Church which is the agent of His loving purpose".

Arno Lehmann



## *The West and the Younger Nations*

SCHWARZE MACHT. *Zur afrikanischen Revolution [Black Power. Regarding the African Revolution]*. By Richard Wright. Translated by C. E. Lewalter and W. v. Grünau. Hamburg: Claassen Verlag, 1956. "Bücher der Neunzehn", No. 27. 352 pp. DM 7.80.

SCHWARZE INTELLIGENZ [*Black Intelligence*]. By Peter Sulzer. Zürich and Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1955. 240 pp. S. Fr. 13.45.

ASIEN UND DIE HERRSCHAFT DES WESTENS [*Asia and the Dominance of the West*]. By K. M. Pannikar. Zürich: Steinberg Verlag, 1955. 477 pp.

The Negro writer Richard Wright reports in his book about his first encounter with Africa, the land from which his forefathers were taken as slaves. His stay of several months in the Gold Coast brought the disappointment of experiencing that not even a common consciousness of race could establish a bond between him and the Africans there. The author, who has been living in Paris for about the past twelve years, a novelist who belongs to the group around Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, is one of the chief representatives of those Negro intellectuals who in the course of their education and in their struggle for complete equality have gone through a very intensive Marxist phase (see Wright's article in the volume edited by R. Crossman, *The God that Failed*). In 1955 he participated in the Bandung Conference as an "observer". With seismographic precision he describes also in his new book all the currents which affect the African today. He traces their course. He attempts to lay bare their roots. He speaks the language of the whites and identifies himself in his thought with the longings of the Negroes. That gives to his report a tremendous vitality and depth of range. One should just read the sections in which he gives an account of his experience with the Convention People's Party, the party of Prime Minister Nkrumah; of his talk with the members of the opposition, which comprises the African intellectuals who have been educated in the West and who think in the cate-

gories of the 19th century, who feel the crisis of their time, and yet do not know how to confront it; of his talks with the chiefs who have to make the best of a bad bargain if they do not want to lose once and for all the power they still have. We are drawn into the clash of the civilization and industrialization of the West with the religiously deep-rooted tribal life of the African. We experience the conflation of heathen tradition and the modern spirit of progress, of democratic postulates and irrational impulses. Politics becomes a religion. "What I had seen was not simply politics; it was politics plus . . . It bordered on religion; it included a total attitude in regard to reality . . ." Communism here becomes a "tinge of Marxism plus the will to existence and the longing for self-liberation".

Wright presents us with detailed material in regard to comparative religion. True, we cannot go along with him when he tries to explain the religious phenomena purely from the point of view of psychology. Likewise we shall not always be able to agree with him in his somewhat one-sided view of Christian missions. But even here it is a matter of facing the facts. Christian missions have often failed, have often not distinguished clearly between mission and propaganda, between the message which they had to bring and Christian civilization which it was not their task to bring. They often dressed the African in clothes which did not fit him and which he has never grown into, and for this reason the mission for the most part did not understand that it had to take root in the indigenous life and thought of a people in order to be able to give form to its structures. And in all of this we should see our own image: the church in its entanglement with state, nationality and culture, the church in its inability to deliver the message in such a way that it can and does become concrete in everyday life. Wright says: "Africa is a gigantic dirty mirror, and what modern man sees in this mirror is worthy of hate and destruction. When he looks into this mirror he thinks he sees black men who are lower than himself; in reality, however, he is looking at himself, and in case he does not know himself very well, his first reaction of self-justification will consist in destroying the terrible picture of himself which his soul projects on Africa." And at the end: "The West will



be judged according to what happens in Africa!"

This is true in general, also in regard to South Africa, to which Sulzer's "literary-political expedition" takes us. A European (a Swiss) undertakes to draw a picture of the situation of the "Negro intelligentsia" in relation to the dominant white minority. He rests his argument on oral and written statements of the Africans themselves in regard to their own problems. The result is a very full picture of the present situation. Sulzer is careful to allow all sides to be heard. Every reader of this objective report, distinguished by such a wealth of material, will be especially grateful for it.

In South Africa it is not a question of the solution of a problem, but *the* problem of our time: what is our attitude to those of another race? How do we deal with the African, the Indian, the Chinese, in our own universities and factories? What kind of inner relationship do we have to them? How do we confront them? It is this, and no other, which is the problem in South Africa. For this reason one should be careful of making too hasty a judgment, but should follow all the more closely the development which is unfolding there. In this development the intellectual Bantu has a great responsibility: "He is the natural link between the European and the African". His relationship to the white man has become more and more involved in a "crisis of confidence": the establishment of the Union, the disappointment after each of the two world wars, in which the African fought for the European without receiving a reward for his sacrifice, characterized the most important stages in this process of alienation. The result is a constantly growing mistrust. Massive demands are made: "We want land (2.6 million whites own 87 % of the land, 8.5 million Negroes the other 13 %), the right to vote (the Bantus today are represented in Parliament by three whites out of total of 159 representatives), money (the tenant farmers in the Transvaal work an average of 90 to 180 days a year for the farmers without pay) and weapons." The government is concerned to find a tolerable way of living together. Will it succeed?

Christianity has a strong influence. The first publishers of Bantu literature were and still are the Christian missions. The

African knows how much he owes to the missionary. But: the African pastor finds himself in a very difficult situation today. If he does not allow himself to be borne on the crest of national feeling he is in danger of losing the confidence of his people. The increasing urbanization places difficult tasks before the missions. The great problem is the sects: in South Africa there are fourteen hundred sects and an average of one a month springs up. Here is the "weak spot" at which Islam so easily infiltrates. In addition it is particularly attractive to the African because of its amalgamation of politics and religion.

Africa lacks a common goal which would unite the Negro and the Afrikaner. Will it find one? Will Christianity recognize here its responsibility? "The period of Western rule" is a period which belongs to the past. Have we at heart familiarized ourselves with this fact so that we are able to say Yes to it? Or is our recognition of the new situation simply one born out of necessity which we "unfortunately" cannot escape?

Pannikar in his book does us a service the significance of which cannot easily be overestimated. Here an Asian undertakes critically to evaluate the history of the relationship between Europe and Asia; an Asian who spreads out a wealth of material before us, who puts it in order and attempts to evaluate it with a sober and objective eye; a diplomat who has grown up with the East and who is familiar with the West, and who knows and can understand their history as a result of intensive study as a professor at the Moslem university at Aligarh, as Indian ambassador in China and Egypt and as a member of the United Nations. He does us the service of making us conscious of the interrelation of our history with that of the East. It begins with May 27, 1498, when the Portuguese mariner Vasco da Gama, by landing at Calicut, opened the sea route to the East Indies. Islam in its historical significance as the power which had forced itself between East and West comes into focus. It was Islam which one hoped to encounter in seeking a sea route to the East Indies. Pannikar traces the lines out until modern times, when the nations of the East began to withdraw more and more from the influence of the West, in order to confront the West again as independent partners. We begin to see with other eyes when we learn



what significance the October Revolution, Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the conclusion of the first world war had for the countries of Asia. Here our thinking is "deprovincialized" and freed from its narrow, egocentric limitations.

We shall devote special consideration to his broad treatment of Christian missions. True, the author, precisely in this point, has been caught by a number of mistakes, which have been pointed out in the preface to the French edition. Christian missionary activity began in the seventh century. Because of the dominance of Islam in many countries, because of the sealing off of China and later also of Japan, and because of the vast area of the countries concerned, this activity was hampered by endless difficulties. And yet not even this activity is free of the guilt which one must attribute to the West. This is made clear by Wright, and it is borne out no less by Pannikar. The West, as well as Christianity itself, did not use its overwhelming power in order to make it of use to the East, but rather in order to enslave the East. "The crimes of European colonization are terrible." We

have no reason to escape this accusation, even by pointing to what must not be forgotten, the fact that a calculation of guilt has never at any time in history led to a new beginning. In history it is evil that is at work, and this evil, understood as power, is more than the West. It is alive in everything that is history. But there have always been those voices which have spoken out against making pacts with evil. These have been found among statesmen, among the popes, among the religious orders, among the missionaries, among the men of the church. These warning voices were first raised in the very camp of the West. The arguments which are used against us today, and rightly, were born in the West, indeed, we may as well say it, in Christianity. Here lies their origin. And if we listen to them, the time for cooperation and coexistence between East and West has not yet been lost. This does not mean to "forget" what a burden lies upon us as a result of our own history, but it does mean the consolation that there is still the possibility for a new beginning.

*Werner Rannenberg*

## CHURCH AND NATION

He who has followed with some attention the discussion within world Lutheranism in recent months should have noticed the development of a problem which will probably thrust itself upon us in the future with increasing intensity; it is the question of the relationship between the natural orders and the spiritual orders in the practice of our church. Most of us remember the innumerable books and magazine articles, theological products of a political boom, which appeared on this theme about two decades ago. These treatises and declarations could hardly encourage anyone to take up again the question of church and nation. One almost endangers one's theological reputation in doing so. But no one should allow his standards for measuring that which is legitimate and illegitimate in regard to national questions be determined by what was said, or no doubt today is still said, in a kind of eleventh-hour panic of nationalism. One should not allow oneself to be either positively or negatively impressed.

Our approach should no longer proceed, as it did in the nineteenth century — particularly in Germany — from the concept of a people, or, in the language of romanticism, of *Volksstum*. This has become outdated and questionable in the world of today. He who is really observant notices that basically the question of the church arouses men everywhere more than the question of nationality. And Christians know, or ought to know, that our whole life belongs to Christ in faith and hope. Should anyone lose this hope, no secular optimism would be there to catch him in his plunge into the abyss. This is true for the individual as well as for the organized church. No one can turn the clock back on decisions which we have all taken in the course of the ecumenical development. It has in fact become clear that the church can only exist when it is known what the church really is. This means decisive changes for broad areas of our church activity; it means in regard to the Lutheran minority churches, for example, as a report of the activity of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (VELKD) now states, that "the problems of the diaspora cannot be solved solely from a national standpoint".

One should, however, not forget the fact that such "national standpoints" have helped determine the history of these churches, and that these churches can only be true to their task if they come to terms with this history. He who knows about the unity movements in American Lutheranism—and something can be read about them in this issue—can only rejoice at the courage and realism with which our brethren in the United States and Canada are coming to terms with this problem, which is so immediately connected with the migration and emigration of the peoples of Europe. One should not forget either that this laborious process of union in American Lutheranism, which may be protracted for a long time yet, is taking place in an environment molded by the English language and by Protestantism in the broadest sense of the word. This unified background of the environment, however, is lacking in South America, in those continents with predominantly non-Christian populations, and in most of those European countries with Lutheran minority churches.

This becomes particularly clear in the problem of language. It is a matter of no small importance for a language's capacity of expression whether it possesses, for example, a "classic" translation of the Bible or not. For the person who either preaches or listens to a sermon, it is of basic importance what religious, Christian or confessional ideas are made available to him by his language. It would be the end of preaching if we ever arrived at a unified type of celebrated proclamation which could be easily translated into any language. And one becomes very uneasy at the not too fantastic idea that some day an enterprising publisher may gather together our already meager preaching vocabulary into a "Phrase-Book for Pastors at Ecumenical Meetings". Men like Bishop Hanns Lilje and Professor Wilhelm Hahn have already pointed out the significance of the problem of language for South America in this magazine. We should like to end the conversation which followed in particular the publication of Wilhelm Hahn's article. But there remains here a vast unsolved problem which is closely bound up with the form of our congregational life. For the church is certainly not a colony of any people or state, but no more is it a club of linguistic philistines or a type of interpreters' school in which one can—perhaps with the aid of the sermon—learn the first lessons in the new language, but the church is the place where prayer is made for and with the dying, the weary and the heavy-laden; the place where God comes as near to the world as he did in Bethlehem or on Golgotha,



and yet remains as far from the world as he did there. In this church of Jesus Christ programs of cultural integration are as out of place as are those for the cultivation of national peculiarities. That one can be a Greek to the Greeks and a Jew to the Jews is in the last analysis for Paul neither a missionary program nor a socio-political program, but an expression of the fact that the orders of our world change when they are claimed for Christ. Where, however, this claim of Christ is no longer put, or is no longer accepted, one is bound to be frustrated in the simplest and most elementary things of this world.

We have taken up the question of language again because it forms in fact an important aspect of the relationship between the church and a nation or people. We use the same language in each area: "With it we bless the Lord and Father and with it we curse men, who are made in the image of God", says the Epistle of James. And it is precisely this which gives the problem of church and nationality in the Lutheran diaspora in Europe its peculiar bitterness. It is laden with historical guilt. Where does this guilt begin, and where will it end?

The review in LUTHERAN WORLD by Otto Krenz of Arthur Rhode's *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche im Posener Land* has given rise in Germany to some quite violent attacks even on the magazine and its editor. In the present issue we are bringing a presentation by Arthur Rhode of Polish Evangelicalism, which was already described by Pastor Krenz, using as his example Leopold Martin Otto. We include also letters by Professor Harald Kruska, the Director of *Kirchendienst Ost* of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD) and Dr. Richard Kammel, another person familiar with the former Evangelical church of Posen, both of whom take issue with Krenz's articles in the last issue of this magazine. It is our hope that all of these contributions may serve the cause of truth, that they may reflect not only the political or the German "standpoint", but that precisely in such a medium as ours and in regard to this question they may witness to something of the unity which exists in Christ. And it is also our hope that we may learn to see realistically the situation of our church. In Europe at least, church history and national history are so closely related that one can never predict how the one may react when the other changes.

And so it is certainly to the good when an organization like the Lutheran World Federation, involved in planning on an ecumenical scale as it is, is directed to the mysteries contained in the history of men and of nations. In the rational world of today certainly nothing can be done without planning, but one must beware of wanting to organize and plan the work of the Holy Spirit, for he has his majesty precisely in not being drawn into even the most pious of programs, but in moving according to his sovereign will. That we are prepared to place our technical knowledge and our rational ability in his service; that we in this obedience have better and deeper insight into the changing orders and institutions of our world than those who would shut out the idea of God as a disturbing factor; that we do our service in relation to this changing world, not in the name of man, and certainly not in the name of piety, but in the name of a gracious God—these should be some of the reflections which we make when we ask about the prerequisites of being the church in the present-day world. How few or how many of these prerequisites are fulfilled today, anyone may discover for himself. One of the decisive questions for world Lutheranism will be how this question of the relationship between church and nation, which is being put to Lutherans by their history, is answered anew in the life of the congregation out of its confession to the Lord who frees and unites.

Hans Bolewski

## EDITORIAL NOTES

As the result of technical difficulties this issue of LUTHERAN WORLD is going to press a number of weeks late. We are happy to include among the authors of the main articles this time two non-Lutherans who put some critical questions to the Study Document of the coming Assembly of the LWF. The one is Father Thomas SARTORY, OSB, the editor of *Un a Sa n c t a*, a magazine in which Catholic and Protestant theologians contribute. (We hope to bring in the near future a thorough review of this periodical as well as of Father Sartory's important book on "The Ecumenical Movement and the Unity of the Church".) The other is Dr. J. Robert NELSON, Executive Secretary of the Department of Faith and Order of the Division of Studies of the World Council of Churches. The article by Bishop Stephen NEILL grew out of a lecture which he held at a conference on underdeveloped countries sponsored by the Evangelical Academy at Loccum. Prof. Regin PRENTER of Aarhus, Denmark, presents us with an article which is based on his lecture held during the recent "Kieler Woche". The contribution by Dr. E. Clifford NELSON, Prof. at Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, and currently Director of the LWF Assembly, should be for non-American visitors at the Assembly a valuable introduction to the ecclesiastical problems of American Lutheranism, and beyond that, should stimulate many to think through anew the problem of the relation between church and nation. We are thankful to the *National Lutheran*, publication of the National Lutheran Council, New York, and to Mr. James Ryberg for permission to include the diagram on Lutheran relationships in America, which should help to bring some clarification to a somewhat confused organizational picture.

The other reports are by Dr. Vilmos VAJTA, Director of the Department of Theology of the LWF, Mr. William E. LESHER of the Department of Church and Society of the Division of Studies of the World Council of Churches, Pastor Friedrich HOFMANN, secretary of the Association of Evangelical Church Choirs of Germany, Bishop Zoltán TURÓCZY of Hungary, who has recently taken up his duties again, Pastor Jean GUERRIER of France, former Superintendent Arthur RHODE, Dr. Earl J. TREUSCH, Executive Director of the Canadian Lutheran Council, and Miss Ruth ENGELBRECHT, student counselor of the Division of College and University Work of the National Lutheran Council, New York City.

Book reviewers are: Pastor Pierre Fraenkel, Lund, Sweden; Docent Gunnar Hillerdal, Kävlinge, Sweden; Lector Per Lønning, Oslo, Norway; Dr. Frederick R. Knubel, President of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England, New York City; Prof. Walter G. Tillmanns of Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa; Dr. Gert Otto, *Katechetisches Amt*, Loccum, Germany; Prof. Arno Lehmann, Dean of the Theological Faculty, Martin Luther University, Halle, Germany; and Vicar Werner Rannenberg of Verden, Germany.

We should like especially to call attention to the letters to editor by Prof. Hermann Sasse of Immanuel Theological Seminary, North Adelaide, South Australia, in regard to the article by Prof. Pelikan entitled "Tradition in Confessional Lutheranism" (LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. III, No. 3) and by Prof. Harald Kruska of the Kirchliche Hochschule, Berlin, Zehlendorf, and Dr. R. Kammel in regard to the two contributions of Pastor Otto Krenz on Lutheranism in Poland in the last issue (LUTHERAN WORLD, Vol. III, No. 4).

The quotation from T. S. Eliot is from the book, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, published by Faber and Faber Ltd., London, p. 98 f.



## Ecumenical Conference Schedule

1957

July 15-19	WCC, Faith and Order, Theological Commission on Christ and the Church, North America	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 15-20	WCC, Joint Consultation of Departments on Laity and Cooperation of Men and Women on "The Renewal of the Church"	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 16-20	WCC, Division of Studies, Commission on "The Lordship of Christ over the World and the Church"	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 17-19	WCC/IMC Department on Missionary Studies, Consultation on Theology of Mission	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 20	WCC, Department of Faith and Order, Working Committee	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 20-22	WCC, Administrative Committee of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 20-24	WCC/IMC Commission of the Churches on International Affairs	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 20-25	WCC, The Faith and Order Commission	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 21-23	WCC, Department on Laity, Workshop on "The Role of the Laity in the Missionary Outreach of the Church"	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 23-27	WCC/IMC Joint Committee	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 26-28	WCC, Faith and Order, Consultation on Church Union	New Haven, Conn., USA
July 28-30	WCC, Executive Committee	Seabury House, Greenwich, Conn.
July 30-Aug. 7	WCC, Central Committee	New Haven, Conn., USA
Sept. 3-10	WCC, Faith and Order Conference on "The Nature of the Unity We Seek"	Oberlin, Ohio USA
Dec. 28-Jan. 8, 1958	IMC Assembly	University College, Ghana, Africa

## LWF Conference Schedule

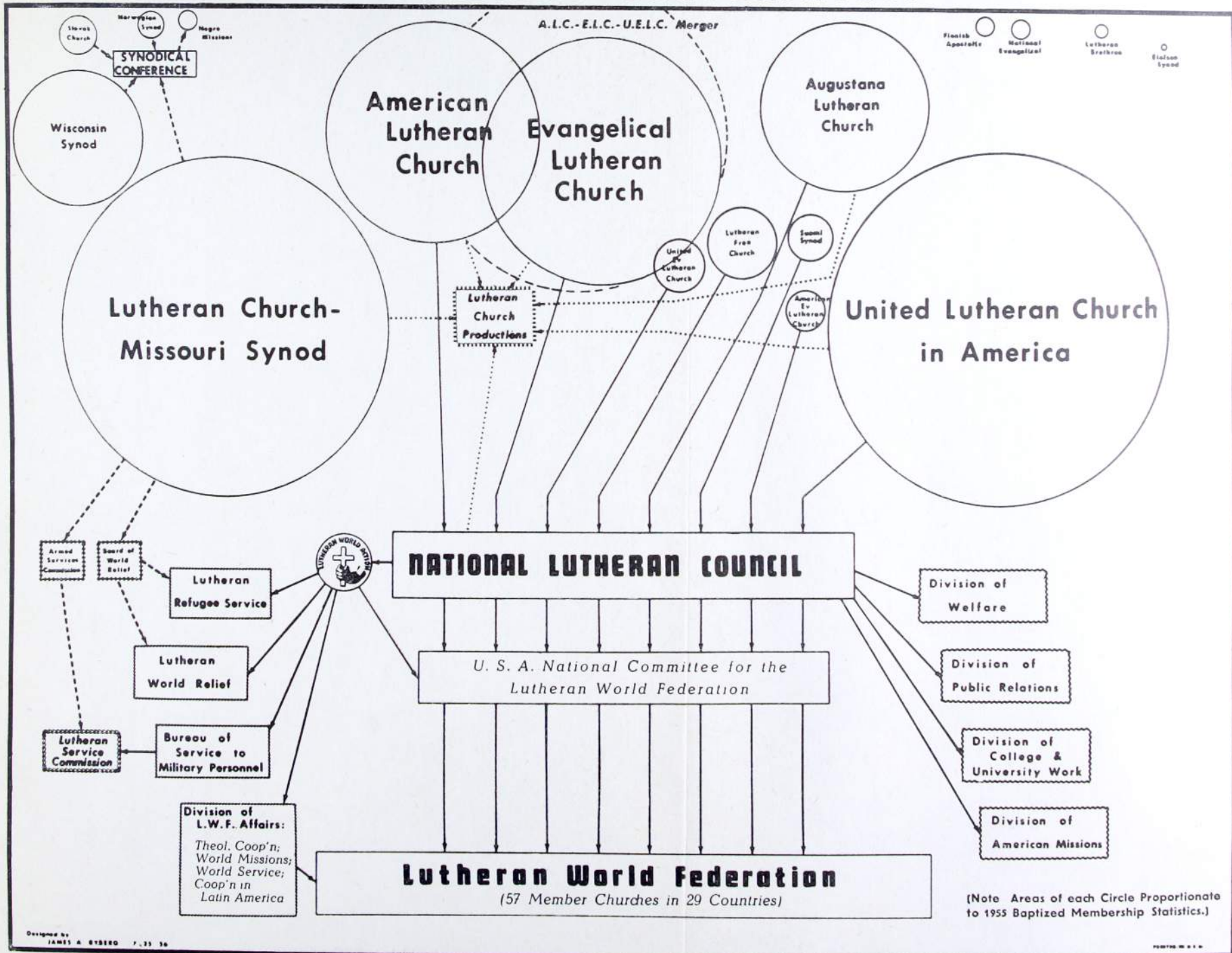
**1957**

**USA**

July 24-27	Commission on World Service	New York, N. Y.
July 29-30	Committee on Latin America	New York, N. Y.
August 2-10	Commission on World Mission	Staten Island, N. Y.
August 5	Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life	Springfield, Ohio
August 5-10	Seminar on the Christian Family	Northfield, Minn.
August 6	Commission on Inner Missions	Columbus, Ohio
August 6-11	Youth Conference	Onamia, Minn.
August 7-10	Lutheran World Conference on Social Responsibility	Springfield, Ohio
August 8	Commission on Education	Northfield, Minn.
August 8-15	International Student Study Conference	St. Paul, Minn.
August 9-10	Commissions on Theology and Liturgy	St. Paul, Minn.
August 11-14	Executive Committee, LWF	Northfield, Minn.
August 12-14	Conference of Lutheran Theological Professors	St. Paul, Minn.
August 25-27	Executive Committee, LWF	Minneapolis, Minn.
August 26-31	Lutheran Student Ashram	Northfield, Minn.
August 27-30	Latin America Conference	Dubuque, Iowa



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